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Lives of the Queens of England
of the House of Hanover

Volume I.

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Preface to the Second Edition

THE guest of Polycrates, who ran away from his host because he was for ever fortunate, was like one of those critics, of the Jeremy Collier school, who cannot witness a modest success without, to speak metaphorically, trying to slit the nose of the author. For my own part, I have little reason to complain; my task is rather to be grateful, and I take the opportunity of the appearance of a second edition of my anecdotal sketches, to give expression to such gratitude, with all the heartiness which the public patronage deserves.

In the introduction to the first edition, I made ready acknowledgment of the many defects which marked my volumes, and in the body of the work itself I entered especial protest against my being supposed presumptuous enough to claim the title of "historian," — humble "story-teller" was all that I presumed to call myself. To review me under the former title, therefore, would show a culpable disregard for truth, or unexampled carelessness on the part of the reviewer. By one such reviewer, some typographical errors have been made the most of; and mistakes, such as a *c* for a *t* in the name of Moltke, are dwelt upon by a critic, who does not trouble himself to write correctly the name of my

own publisher. In this he reminds me of Walpole, sneering at the limping syntax of Chesterfield, — "Lord Chesterfield," says Horace, "who thought of nothing so much as the purity of his language, says, 'You and me shall not be well together,' and this not once, but on every such occasion. A friend of mine says that it was certainly to avoid that female inaccuracy of 'They don't mind you and I;' and yet," adds the critical Walpole, "the latter is the least bad of the two."

This sort of criticism recalls to my mind that once famous or infamous individual whose name, as was remarked by Moore, rhymed so well to "bilks." I allude to the notorious John Wilks, Jr., whose bubble schemes scattered such desolation in that year of devastation, 1826. The great ex-M. P. for Sudbury contrived to withdraw from the very particular, but not very flattering, notice of the public for a few years; but about 1843 he was in England again, and was employed upon *Fraser's Magazine*, when chance threw him in my way. His contributions read like those of a highly honourable and a remarkably pure-minded man, and they chiefly consisted in his "Reminiscences of Men and Things." They who remember his career can best determine if the tone of his productions gave any true idea of the man. He lived loosely, and edited a religious newspaper.

I had, at the time, but just commenced my own unpretending literary life by some "first appearances" in *Fraser*, and it was Wilks's practice to criticise these with a freedom which was very readily excused. "They are all very well," he would

say, "and may be acceptable to young ladies, but if you would rise to be a reviewer, you must learn how to wield a tomahawk, and to be careless whether your victim deserve to be murdered or not." I suggested to the bubble speculator that his patronising *Regina* would never tolerate a critic who was guided by such a principle. Thereupon he laughed aloud, and told me how, in the early numbers, Byron was stigmatised as a lame malignant, Jeffrey "put down" as a man almost forgotten, Bowring described as servile and sycophantish, the great and glorious Professor Wilson sneered at as a writer of sugary novels for tear-eyed misses; and Bulwer pooh-poohed as having "no imagination and very little fire," dealing in "vulgar slip-slop," and whose alleged wit and wisdom were only writhings and contortions. I expressed, of course, a conviction that they who said as much of these authors did so after mature study of their works: he laughed aloud again, and opening at page 209 of the second number of the magazine, he pointed to the following passage: "Reviewers labour under the ill reputation of never reading the books which they review, and we plead guilty to having frequently committed that felonious but pleasant practice." "Well," said I, to the highly respectable writer in *Fraser*, "if I ever produce a book that shall be honoured by the notice of one of your reviewers, I shall not complain, even if I be made the victim of a 'felonious practice.'" Nor can I say I have suffered in this way. Even if I had, I could accept censure cheerfully from a quarter which sneers at "Christopher North," and affects to think that there is something unmanly in writing

what may gain the peculiar sympathy of women. I beg leave rather to hold with Von Redwitz, that, —

“ . . . ist der Schreiber nicht zu neiden,
Den nicht die Jungfrau mögen leiden.”

I do not feel authorised to notice otherwise than courteously the critical censure to which I may be justly exposed, on account of errors made through overhaste, but duly corrected. It is a matter of indifference to me whether, in casting such censure, my critic be influenced by irreproachable motives, or by a desire to further the interests of another book on the same subject, by making the most of the real or fancied demerits in mine. In either case, I will, in future, endeavour to profit by the correction; professing, at the same time, my right to maintain my own opinion on persons and events, differ from it any illustrious *ὀνδεις* that may.

But there remains a special reason why I should venture to reply to the only unfavourable critic whom it has been, as yet, my lot to encounter. This gentleman makes the exceedingly foolish assertion, that in my book I let slip no opportunity to blacken and vilify the great ones of the house of Brunswick, whose illustrious descendant sits on the throne of these realms! Well, it is a pleasure to see a conceited man break his head with his own flail, and this my judicious adversary has done effectually. The champion of Brunswick asserts that the correspondence published some few years ago as that of Sophia Dorothea and Königsmark, must be considered authentic; at least, he holds it to be such, although he admits that every one has a right to form his own

opinion thereon. He maintains that this unclean mass, jumble of dates, no dates, and wrong dates, with words supplied to eke out the sense required, is conclusive of the guilt of Sophia Dorothea. The declaration of the latter, made weekly, on her taking the sacrament, protesting her innocence, he holds as worthless. Nay, he goes so far as to say that there are grounds for believing that an illicit intercourse between the too famous pair existed before the marriage of Sophia and George Louis. So the enemies of the lady thought, when they used, in London, to speak of George Augustus as "young Königsmark," — considering the count as his father. My reviewer would have shown more judgment had he "condescended" to take up the glove he affects to fancy I threw down, touching the matter of Leibnitz, rather than agitate this more delicate question at all. Does he not tremble at the very thought that, if the abominable correspondence and his own silly "probability" be maintainable, he bastardises a truly legitimate branch of Brunswick, and authorises the heralds to clap a bar-sinister on the arms of the royal family of England? The too eager gentleman, of course, did not see the effect of his own awkward argument. Let me implore him to consider the case of the ass in the fable. That celebrated animal fancied he could, with his hoofs, whisk off the flies from the face of his sleeping master, and what was the result? He only inflicted an ugly bruise and left a smear behind him.

Surely, when this critic, after telling his readers that in the story of Sophia Dorothea I had only furnished a sentimental romance for ladies, reproaches

me for not making use of this disgusting correspondence, he may be said to have allowed his sense of decency to sleep for a moment; nor has he made any but an infelicitous use of it himself. The earliest date in the correspondence is posterior to the birth of him who was subsequently George the Second; but my reviewer's edifying discovery that there is a probability for believing that the guilty intercourse of the count and George the Second's mother commenced before her marriage with our first George, only tends to establish the ugly suspicion, — one which never even entered into the head of the Pretender himself, — that a bastard of Königsmark may have ascended the English throne; an event which was certainly not contemplated by the Act of Succession.

Compared with this, my culpable inadvertence of making a couple of blunders in a matter of relationship sinks into the character of a very venial error. And now, who does most wrong to Brunswick, — he who roughly shakes only the unclean bygone princes of that house, or he who, disregarding the sacramental assertion of a woman, draws conclusions which, only that they are as worthless as they are heedlessly made, might arm the enemies of the Crown with the most terrible of weapons?

I would add more, were it worth while, for the benefit of a gentleman who "rails by system and detracts by rule," who does not seem to know that Moreri is good authority for speaking of "Henry the Dog," and who gravely asserts that the bishopric of Osnaburgh was "always" given to a younger son of the house of Hanover, when, in truth, it was, quite as

often, not in the family at all. But in truth it is only in his capacity of champion for Brunswick (!) that I have to do with him. As such, the illustrious house, for whose members I have as much sincere respect as he, will have found in their champion "not much of a conjuror;" and in that hastily assumed character, I will only say of him what the English nobleman said to the dull old herald who had misplaced his lordship in a royal procession: "Why, you silly man, you don't understand your own silly business."

THE AUTHOR.

September, 1855.

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Sophia Dorothea, of Zell
Wife of George I.

Das Glänzende ist nicht immer das Bessere.

— KOTZEBUE, *Bruder Moritz*.

Lives of the Queens of England

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GEORGE OF BRUNSWICK-ZELL AND ELEANORE D'OLBREUSE

Woden, the Father of the Line of Brunswick — The Seven Brothers at Dice, for a Wife — D'Esmiers d'Olbreuse and His Daughter Eleanora — Love-passages, and a Marriage — A Bishop of Osnaburgh — Birth of Sophia Dorothea.

WHEN George the First ascended the throne of England, the heralds, with an alacrity at once officious and official, proceeded to furnish him with that sort of greatness without profit and without value, which it is part of their profession to provide for those who are weak enough to need it, and wealthy enough to pay for it. They, in other words, provided him with an ancestry; and they constructed that crane's foot roll which the Normans knew by the name of a *pied de grue*, and which pretended, with pleasant disregard of proof, that his Majesty, who had few godlike virtues of his own, was de-

scended from that deified hero Woden, whose virtues, according to the bards, were all of a godlike quality. Now, George Louis of Brunswick-Lunebourg, with respect to Woden, was, as Dumas remarks of a questionable great-grandson of Charlemagne, "*un descendant bien descendu*." The two had little in common, save lack of true-heartedness toward their wives.

The more modest builders of ancestral pride, who ventured to water genealogical trees for all the branches of Brunswick to bud upon, — before the princes of the family so named ever hoped to sit in the seat of the Conqueror and Cœur de Lion, — did not dig deeper for a root, or go farther for a fountain-head than into the Italian soil of the year 1028. Even then, they found nothing more or less noble than a certain Azon d'Este, Marquis of Tuscany, who, having little of sovereign about him, except his will, joined the banner of the Emperor Conrad, and hoped to make a fortune in Germany, either by cutting throats, or by subduing hearts whose owners were heiresses of unencumbered lands.

Azon was as irresistible in field and bower as his almost namesake, Azor, of the fairy tale, and not only did this truly designated soldier of fortune win a name by his sword, but a heart by his tongue. He was doubly lucky, it may be added, in his bride, for when he espoused Cunegunda of Guelph, he married a lady who was not only wealthy, but who had the additional attraction and advantage of being the last of her race. The household was, consequently, a happy one, and when an heir to its honours appeared in the person of Guelph d'Este the Robust, the vaticinating court poet foretold brilliant fortunes for his

house, yet failed to see the culminating brilliancy which awaited it in Britain, beyond their ken.

It is singular, however, to see how soon the Guelphs of Este became connected with Britain. This same Prince "Robust," of whom I have just spoken, when he had come to man's estate, wooed no maiden heiress as his father had done, but won the widowed sister-in-law of our great Harold. The lady in question was Judith, daughter of Baldwin de Lisle, Count of Flanders, and widow of Tostic, Earl of Kent. He took her by the hand while she was yet seated under the shadow of her great sorrow, and looking up at Guelph the Robust, she smiled and was comforted.

Guelph was less satisfactorily provided with wealth than the comely Judith, but in the days in which he lived provision was easily made, were he who needed it only in favour with the imperial magician, at whose word fortunes rose, disappeared, and were transferred from one prince to another without troubling the legal conveyancers.

Guelph and Judith had found this important favour in the eyes of the Emperor Henry IV., who forthwith ejected Otho of Saxony from his possessions in Bavaria, and conferred the same, with a dreadfully long list of rights and appurtenances, on the newly married couple.

These possessions were lost to the family by the rebellion of Guelph's great-grandson against Frederick Barbarossa. The disinherited prince, however, found fortune again, by help of a marriage and an English king. He had been previously united to Maud, the daughter of Henry II., and his royal father-in-law,

with that benevolence which prevails so largely in all communities, took unwearied pains to find some one who could afford him material assistance. He succeeded, and Guelph received, from another emperor, the gift of the countships of Brunswick and Lunenburg. Otho IV. raised them to duchies, and William (Guelph) was the first duke of the united possessions, about the year 1200.

Since that period, dukes in Brunswick have seldom failed ; but the heir to the title, if he were a child when he could lay claim to his inheritance, usually found a wicked uncle in possession, who affected to act upon trust, but who never would acknowledge his ward's majority except under the irresistible pressure of force. Thus, Otho the Child would probably have lost all of his inheritance except his claims to it, but for the energetic action in his favour exercised by the Emperor Frederick.

The early dukes were for the most part warlike in character, but their bravery was rather of a rash and excitable character than heroically, yet calmly firm. Some of them were remarkable for their unhappy tempers, and acquired names which unpleasantly distinguish them in this respect. I may cite, as instances, Henry, who was not only called the "young," from his years, and "the black," from his swarthiness, but "the dog," because of his undignified snarling propensities. So Magnus, who was surnamed "the collared," in allusion to the gold chain which hung from his bull neck, was also known as the "insolent" and the "violent," from the circumstance that he was ever either insufferably haughty or insanelly passionate.

The house of Brunswick has, at various times,

been divided into the branches of Brunswick-Lunebourg, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Brunswick-Zell, Brunswick-Danneberg, etc. These divisions have arisen from marriages, transfers, and interchanges. The first duke who created a division was Duke Bernard, who, early in the fifteenth century, exchanged with a kinsman his duchy of Brunswick for that of Lunebourg, and so founded the branch which bears, or bore, that double name.

The sixteenth duke, Otho, was the first who is supposed to have brought a blot upon the ducal scutcheon, by honestly marrying rather according to his heart than his interests. His wife was a simple lady of Brunswick, named Matilda de Campen. The two lived as happily together as the stirring times and attendant anxieties would allow them; and they paid as dearly for the felicity which they enjoyed as did their descendant, of whom I shall presently speak, who also espoused a lady below the line of ducal sovereignty, and who gave to England the second of her queens whose feet never rested upon English soil.

It became the common object of all the dukes of the various Brunswick branches to increase the importance of a house which had contributed something to the imperial greatness of Germany. They endeavoured to accomplish this common object by intermarriages, but the desired consummation was not achieved until a comparatively recent period, — when the branch of Brunswick-Lunebourg became electors, and subsequently Kings of Hanover, and that of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Sovereign Dukes of Brunswick.

The great-grandfather of George I., William, Duke of Brunswick-Lunebourg, had seven sons, and all these were dukes, like their father. On the decease of the latter, they affected to discover that if the seven heirs, each with his little dukedom, were to marry, the greatness of the house would suffer alarming diminution, and the ducal gem be ultimately crushed into numberless glittering but not very valuable fragments. They accordingly came to a singular yet natural conclusion. They determined that one alone of the brothers should form a legal matrimonial connection, and that the naming of the lucky refounder of the dignity of Brunswick should be left to chance!

The seven brothers, in pursuance of their plan, met in the hall of state in their deceased father's mansion, and there drew lots, or threw dice, for reports differ on this point, as to who should live on in single blessedness, wearing bachelor's buttons for ever, and which should gain the prize, not of a wife, but of permission to find one. They must have formed a pictorial, and probably an excited group, — those brothers all risking cold celibacy that one might keep warm the dignified vitality of the race. Had the gods been propitious, the lot would surely have fallen upon one who already wore a lady in his heart; and there undoubtedly was such a one among them whose own heart doubtless beat quickly when "double sixes" were thrown by the brother who had but an indifferent heart of his own, and who had yet to seek to establish an interest in that of some lady.

The lucky prince was George, the sixth son, and he experienced little difficulty in finding a princess

willing to be the mother of a new race of Brunswick princes. The lady, cavalierly wooed and ready to be won, was Anne Eleanore, daughter of the Landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt.

The brothers are said to have so religiously observed their compact, that when the story was told to the Sultan, Achmet I., that potentate, who belonged to a race which knows nothing of fraternal affection when the latter stands in the way of interest, clapped his hands with surprise, solemnly declared that God was great, — by way of inapplicable comment upon the legend of the seven brothers, — and swore that it would be worth while to go on foot from Byzantium to Brunswick only to look at them!

One of the sons of this marriage was Frederick Ernest Augustus, who, in 1685, married Sophia, the daughter of Frederick and Elizabeth, the short-lived King and Queen of Bohemia; the latter the daughter of James I. The eldest child of this marriage was George Louis, who ultimately became King of Great Britain, and who was then discovered, as I have said, to be a descendant of Woden. He at least espoused a lady who, by the mother's side, was less heroically, yet not less honourably, descended.

When Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, the Roman Catholic religion in France achieved neither a less sanguinary, nor a less melancholy, nor a less vaunted triumph, than it did on the bloody day of the never-to-be-forgotten St. Bartholomew. Those who refused to be converted were executed or imprisoned. Some found safety, with suffering, in exile; and confiscation made beggars of thousands. When towns, where the Protestants were in the

majority, exhibited tardiness in coming over to the king's way of thinking, dragoons were ordered thither, and this order was of such significance, that when it was made known, the population, to escape massacre, usually professed recantation of error in a mass. This daily accession of thousands who made abjuration under the sword, and walked thence to confession and reception of the sacrament under an implied form in which they had no faith, was described to the willingly duped king by the ultra bishops as a miracle as astounding as any in Scripture.

Of some few individuals, places at court for themselves, commissions for their sons, or honours which sometimes little deserved the name, for their daughters, made, if not converts, hypocrites. Far greater was the number of the good and faithful servants who left all and followed their Master. With one especially I have here to do. His name was Alexander D'Esmiers, Marquis D'Olbreuse, a gallant Protestant gentleman of Poitiers, who preferred exile and loss of estate to apostasy, and who, when he crossed the frontier, a banished man, brought small worldly wealth with him, but therewith one child, a daughter, who was to him above all wealth; and to uphold his dignity, the memory of being descended from the gallant Fulques D'Esmiers, the valiant and courteous Lord of Lolbroire.

Father and daughter had the world before them where to choose, and like unfortunates who, ejected from home, still linger on the loved threshold, they sojourned for a time on the northern frontier of the kingdom, having their native country within sight. There they tabernacled in much sorrow, perplexity,

and poverty, but friends ultimately supplied them with funds; and however sad a man a French exile may be when his purse is empty and his mind is filled with gloomy thoughts, that same mind speedily becomes serene when steadied by the ballast of a heavy purse.

The marquis was not a Cræsus even now, but he found himself in a condition to appear in Brussels without sacrifice of dignity, and into the gay circles of that gay city he led his daughter Eleanora, who was met by warm homage from the gallants, and much criticism at the hands of her intimate friends — the ladies.

But the sharpest criticism could not deny her beauty, and her wit and accomplishments won for her the respect and homage of those whose allegiance was better worth having than that of mere *petits mattres* with their stereotyped flattery. Eleanora, like the lady in Goethe's tragedy, loved the society and the good opinion of wise men, while she hardly thought herself worthy of either; and, like Leonora d'Este, she might have said:

“Ich freue mich wenn kluge Männer sprechen,
Dass ich verstehen kann wie sie es meinen.”

It is not to be forgotten, however, that Eleanora was a Frenchwoman, and consequently for being attached to the wise she was not out of love with gaiety. She was the fairest and the liveliest in the train of the brilliant Duchess of Tarento, and she was following and eclipsing her noble patroness at a ball, when she was first seen by a prince who had travelled a

little, and now suddenly felt that he loved much. This prince was George William, second son of George, Duke of Brunswick-Lunebourg, and heir to the pocket but sovereign dukedom of Zell.

The heir of Zell became, what he had never been before, an honest wooer. It is said that he did not become so without a struggle; but the truth is that his heart was for the first time seriously inclined, and he, whose gallantry had been hitherto remarkable for its dragooning tone, was now more subdued than Cymon in the subduing presence of Iphigenia. He had hated conversation, because he was incapable of sustaining it, but now love made him eloquent. He had abhorred study, and knew little of any other language than his own, but now he took to French vocabularies and dictionaries, and long before he had got so far as to ask Eleanora to hear him conjugate the verb *aimer*, "to love," he applied to her to interpret the difficult passages he met with in books, and throughout long summer days the graceful pair might have been seen sitting together, book in hand, interesting and interested, fully as happy, and twice as hopeful as that other celebrated and enamoured pair, Paolo and Francesca.

With this young couple, love's course ran as little smoothly, after a time, as it is said to do proverbially. George William soon saw that something more of sterling homage was expected from him than his becoming the mere pupil of a noble but dowerless maiden from France, and the heir to a duodecimo ducal coronet was sorely puzzled as to his proceedings. To marriage he could have condescended with alacrity, but unfortunately there was "a promise

in bar." With the view common to many co-heirs of the family, he had entered into an engagement with his brother, Ernest Augustus, heir of the chief of the house of Brunswick, and Bishop of Osnaburgh, never to marry. This concession had been purchased at a certain cost, and the end in view was the further enlargement of the dominions and influence of the house of Brunswick. If George William should not only succeed to Zell, but should leave the same to a legitimate heir, that was a case which Ernest Augustus would be disposed to look upon as one inflicting on him and his projects a grievous wrong. A price was paid therefore for the promised celibacy of his brother, and that brother was now actively engaged in meditating as to how he might, without disgrace, break a promise, and yet retain the money by which it had been purchased. His heart leaped within him as he thought how easily the whole matter might be arranged by a morganatic (or a diminished, as that Gothic word implies) marriage. A marriage, in other words, with the left hand; an union sanctioned by the Church, but so far disallowed by the law that the children of such wedlock were, in technical terms, *infantes nullius*, "children of nobody," and could, of course, succeed to nobody's inheritance.

George William waited on the Marquis d'Olbreuse with his morganatic offer: the poor refugee noble entertained the terms with much complacency, but left his child to determine on a point which involved such serious considerations for herself. They were accordingly placed with much respect at Eleanora's feet, but she, musing rather angrily thereon, used

them as Alnaschzar did his basket of glass : she became angry, and by an impetuous movement shivered them into fragments. She would not listen to the offer.

In the meantime, these love-passages of young George William were productive of much unseemly mirth at Hanover, where the Bishop of Osnaburgh was keeping a not very decorous court. He was much more of a dragoon than a bishop, and indeed his flock were more to be pitied than his soldiers. The diocese of Osnaburgh was supplied with bishops by the most curious of rules ; the rule was fixed at the period of the peace which followed the religious wars of Germany, and this rule was, that as Osnaburgh was very nearly divided as to the number of those who followed either church, it should have alternately a Protestant and a Romanist bishop. The necessary result has been that Osnaburgh has had sad scapegraces for her prelates, but yet, in spite thereof, has maintained a religious respectability which might be envied by dioceses blessed with two diverse bishops at once, for ever anathematising the flocks of each other and their shepherds.

The Protestant Prince Bishop of Osnaburgh made merry with his ladies at the wooing of his honest and single-minded brother, whom he wounded to the uttermost by scornfully speaking of Eleanora d'Olbreuse as the duke's "madame." It was a sorry and unmanly joke, for it lacked wit, and insulted a true-hearted woman. But it had the effect also of arousing a true-hearted man.

George William had now succeeded to the little dukedom of Zell, not indeed without difficulty, for

as the ducal chair had become vacant while the next heir was absent, paying homage at Brussels to a lady rather than receiving it from his lieges in Zell, his younger brother, John Frederick, had played his lord suzeraine a shabby trick, by seating himself in that chair, and fixing the ducal parcel-gilt coronet on his own brows, with a comic sort of "*Gare qui le touche !*" levelled at all assailants generally, and the rightful and fraternal owner particularly.

George William having toppled down the usurper from his ill-earned elevation, and having bought off further treason by pensioning the traitor, returned to Brussels with a renewal of his former offer. He added weight thereto by the intimation, that if a morganatic marriage were consented to now, he had hopes, by the favour of the emperor, to consolidate it at a subsequent period by a legal public union, whereat Eleanora d'Olbreuse should be recognised Sovereign Duchess of Zell, without chance of that proud title ever being disputed.

Thereupon a family council was holden. The poor marquis argued as a father, of his age, and few hopes, might be pardoned for arguing, — he thought a morganatic marriage might be entered upon without "*derogation*" being laid to the account of the descendants of Fulques d'Esmiers ; *au reste*, he left all to his daughter's love, filial and otherwise. Eleanora did not disappoint either sire or suitor by her decision. She made the first happy by her obedience, her lover by her gentle concession ; and she espoused the ardent duke with the left hand, because her father advised it, her lover urged it, and the counsel and the suit were agreeable to the lady, who professed to be

influenced by them to do that for which her own heart was guide and warrant.

The marriage was solemnised in the month of September, 1665, the bride being then in the twenty-sixth year of her age. With her new position, she assumed the name and style of Lady von Harburg, from an estate of the duke's so called; and probably the last thing she thought of among the dreams conjured up by the new impressions to which she was now subject, was that the Lady of Harburg (a poor exile from France for the sake of conscience and religion) should be the mother of a Queen of England whom England should never see, or the ancestress of one who is more honoured for her descent from the godly D'Esmiers of Poitou, than if she could be proved to be a daughter, far off indeed, and in unbroken line, of the deified and heathenish savage Woden of Walhalla.

The Bishop of Osnaburgh was merrier than ever at what he styled the mock marriage, and more unmanly than ever in the coarse jokes he flung at the Lady of Harburg. But even this marriage, maimed as it was, not in rite, but in legal sanction, was not concluded without fresh concessions made by the duke to the bishop, in order to secure to the latter an undivided inheritance of Brunswick, Hanover, and Zell. His mirth was founded on the idea that he had provided for himself and his heirs, and left the children of his brother, should any be born, and these survive him, to nourish their left-handed dignity on the smallest possible means. The first heiress to such dignity, and to much heart-crushing and undeserved sorrow, soon appeared to gladden for a brief

season, to sadden for long and weary years, the hearts of her parents. Sophia Dorothea was born on the 15th September, 1666. Her names imply, "Wisdom the gift of God;" and if she had not possessed in after life that wisdom, whose commencement is established in the fear of God, her fate would have been as insupportable as it was undeserved.

Her birth was hailed with more than ordinary joy in the little court of her parents: at that of the bishop it was productive of some mirth and a few bad epigrams. The bishop had taken provident care that neither heir nor heiress should affect his succession to what should have been their own inheritance, and simply looking upon Sophia Dorothea as a child whose existence did not menace a diminution of the prospective greatness of his house, he tolerated the same with an ineffably gracious condescension.

CHAPTER II.

WIVES AND FAVOURITES

The Single Blessing Allowed to Women — A Ducal Household — Elevation in Rank of the Mother of Sophia Dorothea — Births and Deaths — A Lover for Sophia — The Bishop of Osnaburgh an Imitator of the *Grand Monarque* — Two Successful Female Adventurers at Osnaburgh.

It is the remark of Madame de Staël, I think, — a lady, by the way, whom the Messrs. Goncourt in their one-sided history of French society have described as having “the face of a lion; purple, pimpled, and dry-lipped, rude in body as in ideas, masculine in gesture, uttering in the voice of a boy her vigorous and swelling phraseology” — nothing of which would be believed by those who have seen her only in Girard’s picture, holding in her hand that little branch without which she knew not how to be eloquent; it is, I repeat, the remark of Madame de Staël, that society, and perhaps even Providence, vouchsafes but a single blessing to women, — that of being loved after marriage. Whether this be true or not, the blessing here named appears to have been the undisputed possession of the Lady of Harburg.

Such a household as that maintained in sober happiness and freedom from anxiety by herself and the

duke was a rare sight, if not in Germany, at least in German courts. The duke was broadly ridiculed because of his faithful affection for one who was worthy of all the truth and esteem which a true-hearted wife could claim. He could well afford to allow the unprincipled to ridicule what they could not realise; and he held, with more honesty than ever distinguished knight in chivalrous times, that if it were disgraceful to commit a breach of faith even in gaming, it was doubly so to be guilty of such treachery in marriage.

It may well be imagined how hilariously this sentiment was contemplated by the princes of Germany, who aped Louis XIV. only in his vices and his arrogance, and who, while professing to be as wise as Solomon, followed the example of that monarch only in the matter of concubines.

The only fault ever brought by the bitterest of the enemies of the wife of the Duke of Zell against that unexceptionable lady was, that she was overfond of nominating natives of France to little places in her husband's little court. Considering that the Germans, who looked upon her as an intruder, would not recognise her as having become naturalised by marriage, it is hardly to be wondered at that she gathered as much of France around her as she could assemble in another land. This done, her husband approving, and her child creating for her a new world of emotions and delights, she let those who envied her rail on, having neither time nor inclination to heed them.

But the sunshine was not all unclouded. Three other children were the fruit of this marriage, whose

early deaths were deplored as so many calamities. Their mother lived long enough to deplore that Sophia Dorothea had survived them. This was the real sorrow of the mother's life; and stupendous indeed must be the maternal affliction which is based upon the fact that a beloved and only child does not lie coffined at her parents' feet.

The merits of the mother won, as they deserved to do, increase of esteem and affection on the part of the duke. His most natural wish was to raise her to a rank equal to his own, as far as a mere name could make assertion of such equality. This, however, could only be effected gradually, and with a world of trouble, delay, disappointment, petitioning, and expense. It was thought a wonderful act of condescension on the part of the emperor, that he gave his imperial sanction to the elevation of the Lady of Harburg to the rank and title of Countess of Wilhelmsburg.

The Bishop of Osnaburgh was harder to treat with than the emperor. He bound down his brother by stringent engagements, solemnly engrossed in lengthy phrases, guarding against all mistake by horribly technical tautology, to agree that the encircling his wife with the coronet of a countess bestowed upon her no legal rights, and conferred no shadow of legitimacy, in the eye of the law, on the children of the marriage, actual or prospective. For such children, modest yet sufficient provision was secured; but they were never to dream of claiming cousinship with the alleged better-born descendants of Henry the Dog, or Magnus the Irascible.

George William and Eleanora mildly acquiesced,

and the Bishop of Osnaburgh turned the key of his family muniment-chest, with the comfortable feeling of a man who has fenced his dignity and prospects with a safeguard which could not possibly be violated. George William looked at his wife with a smile, and uttered, in something of the fashion of the prophetic persons in Shakespeare's tragedy, "Hail! Countess of Wilhelmsburg, Duchess of Zell, hereafter!"

I do not mean to imply, of course, that this was more than mentally uttered. That the idea possessed the duke, and that he acted upon it quite as much as if he had given it expression, and bound himself by its utterance, is clearly distinguishable by his subsequent action. He was resolved not to rest until his wife should also be his duchess. A "star-chamber matter" has been made of many a simpler thing, but a smile is allowable when we read of the fact that the Estates of Germany gravely discussed the subject as to whether a worthy wife should be permitted to wear the title which was commonly worn by her husband. This had once before been permitted to a single lady, who had given her hand, or, to speak more in the spirit of Brunswick court lawyers, whose hand had been graciously taken by a Brunswick duke. In the case furnishing a precedent, the lady in question was at least a native of the duchy; but in the present case a great difficulty presented itself, the lady being a foreigner with nothing ennobling her but her virtues. The Estates thought long, and adjourned often before they came to a tardy and reluctant conclusion, by which the boon sought was at length conceded. When the

emperor added his consent, there was many a princess in the various German courts who became tremblingly sensible that Teutonic greatness had been shattered for ever.

The concession made by the Estates, and the sanction superadded by the emperor, were, however, only obtained upon the military bishop withholding all opposition. The princely prelate was, in fact, bought off. Again his muniment-box was unlocked; once more he and his staff of lawyers were deep in parchments, and curious in the geography of territorial maps and plans. The result of much dry labour and heavy speculation was an agreement entered into by the two brothers. The Duke of Zell contracted that the children of his marriage with the daughter of the Poitevin marquis should inherit only his private property, and the empty title of Counts, or Countesses, of Wilhelmsburg. The territory of Zell, with other estates added to the sovereign dukedom, was to pass to the prince-bishop or his heirs. On these terms Eleanora of Olbreuse, Lady of Harburg and Countess of Wilhelmsburg, became Duchess of Zell.

“Ah!” exclaimed the very apostolic bishop to the dissolute disciples at his court, on the night that the family compact was made an accomplished fact, “my brother’s French madame is not a jot the more his wife, for being duchess,”—which was true, for married is married, and there is no comparative degree of intensity which can be applied to the circumstance. “But she has a dignity the more, and therewith may madame rest content”—which was not true, for no new title could add dignity to a

woman like the wife of Duke George William. As to being content, she knew not what it was to lack content until after the period when Brunswick greeted her by an empty name.

As yet, however, all went — if I may employ a simile much cracked by wear — all went as merry as a marriage-bell; save when the knell tolled for the three happy children who were summoned early to occupy graves over which their mistaken parents long and deeply mourned. Sophia Dorothea was the sole daughter then of their house, if not of their hearts, and she was a “thing of beauty,” beloved by all, because of her worth, and flattered by none, because she was nobody’s heiress.

Of the personal history of her youth, the most salient circumstance is that, when she was yet but seven years old, she had for an occasional playfellow in the galleries and gardens of Zell and Calenberg, a handsome lad, Swedish by birth, but German by descent, whose name was Philip Christopher von Königsmark. He was in Zell for the purpose of education, and many of his vacation hours were spent with the child of George William, who was his father’s friend. When gossips saw the two handsome children, buoyant of spirit, beaming with health, and ignorant of care, playing hand in hand at sports natural to their age, those gossips prophesied, “in bated breath,” of future marriage. They could foretell “circumstances,” like our laureate, and prattle, in reference to these happy children, of —

“Two lovers whisp’ring by an orchard wall,
Two lives bound fast in one with golden ease :

Two graves grass-green beside a gray church tower,
Wash'd with still rains and daisy blossomed ; " —

but their "circumstance" was as aerial as that of the poet, and they could not foresee the dark reality, — one child in a dungeon, the other in a bloody grave.

Indeed, their speculation in this direction had soon no food whereon to live, for the young Königsmark was speedily withdrawn from Zell, and Sophia bloomed on alone, or with other companions, good, graceful, fair, accomplished, and supremely happy.

But even daughter as she was of a left-handed marriage, there was hanging to her name a dower sufficiently costly to dazzle and allure even princely suitors. To one of these she was betrothed before she was ten years old. The suitor was a soldier and a prince, and although not so much older than his little lady as Richard II. was when, at the age of nine and twenty, he espoused the French Princess Isabella of Valois, with no more years upon her sunny brow than nine, — a child whom he married politically, loved paternally, and was beloved by filially, as he well merited, — although the disparity was not so great, it was enough to bar anything beyond betrothment.

The princely lover in question was the cousin of the *quasi* princely lady, Augustus Frederick, Crown Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. This crown prince was allured by the *beaux yeux de la casette* of the little heiress. If Mr. Justice Alderson takes license to make puns when the court is dull and cases heavy, it may be pardoned a poor chronicler, if he marks down in his record, that the Crown Prince

of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was mightily moved by the crowns set down as the dower which was to go with the hand of the duke's daughter. These were little better than half-crowns after all, — thalers worth about three shillings each, and of them one hundred thousand. The lover possibly exclaimed as Boileau's celebrated gentleman did :

"Elle a cent mille vertus en louis bien comptées."

But for louis here were only thalers ; and a hundred thousand thalers is at the most but fifteen thousand pounds sterling, but an humble dower for a duke's only daughter. In the country where merchants are "princes," sires give as much to each of a whole circle of daughters ; but George William was only Duke of Zell.

In the meantime the affianced lover had to prove himself, by force of arms, worthy of his lady and her fortune. The latter, at least, was hardly worth the risk he ran to show himself deserving, and which deprived him of that in honour of which he put himself in peril. At the time of which I am speaking, as much murderous bad ambition was abroad in the world as there now is heaping a mountain of responsibility for murder upon the head of the late Tsar Nicholas. One of the consequences thereof was the noted siege of Philipsburg, in the year 1676. Thither repaired the chivalrous Augustus of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. He went to the bloody work proudly, plume in helm, scarf on breast, and all the insignia of greatness about him. There was nothing in his nature of that humility, so selfish in aspect, which

distinguishes Russian officers going into action, — gallant leaders, who deck themselves in the great-coats of private soldiers, in order to avoid mortal honour from those opponents who seek to cross swords with men supposed to be worthy of their steel. This novel phasis of strategy, of Russian introduction, was not yet known in the days of Augustus of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. He was accordingly content to take his chance honestly and valiantly, and he bore himself with a dignity and daring which entitled him to respect. With regret it must be added, that the fortune of war deprived him of that which he hoped to reap with the hand of Sophia Dorothea. A fatal bullet slew him suddenly : a brief notice in a despatch was his soldierly requiem, and when the affianced child-bride was solemnly informed by circumstance of hof-marshal that her lord was slain and her heart was free, she was too young to be sorry, and too unconscious to be glad. But glad she would not have been, had she known that by the slaying of one lover at Philipsburg she was ultimately to gain another, the gain of whom would prove a bitter loss.

Meanwhile, the two courts of the Bishop of Osnaburgh and the Duke of Zell continued to present a striking contrast. At the latter, harmony and respectability reigned in common : at that of the bishop there was little of either ; even the ostentatious patronage bestowed on literature was not respectable, because it was ostentatious. It was, however, the best feature of which the court had to boast.

The bishop was one of those men who think themselves nothing unless they are imitating some greater

man, not in his virtues but his vices. There was one man in Europe whom Ernest Augustus described as a "paragon," and that distinguished personage was Louis XIV. The vices, extravagance, the pomposity of the great king, were the dear delights of the little prince. As Louis neglected his wife, so Ernest Augustus disregarded his. Fortunately, Sophia, the wife of the latter, had resources in her mind, which made her consider with exemplary indifference the faithlessness of her lord. Assuredly, his, like Israel's incense, was too often cast upon unworthy shrines, and the goddesses who received it were in every respect unworthy of the homage. Every prince is not a Pericles, and if he were, he would find that every Lais, for being the favourite of a prince, is not necessarily as intellectually gifted as the extravagant and accomplished lady of old.

And yet, as far as regards a particular sort of extravagance and accomplishment, perhaps few ladies could have surpassed those known at Hanover as Catherine and Elizabeth von Meissengen. Introduced to a court of ill-dressed ladies, they set the fashion of a witchery of costume, remarkable for its taste, and sometimes for outraging it. Had they come straight from the euphuistic and gallantly attired circle of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, they could not have been nicer of phrase nor more resplendent of garb. They possessed, too, the great talent of Madame de Sillery Genlis, and were inimitable in their ability and success in getting up little fêtes, at home or abroad, in the salon, or *al fresco*, — formal and full-dressed, or rustic and easy, — where major-generals were costumed as agricultural swains, and

ladies of honour as nymphs or dairymaids, with costumes rural of fashioning, but as resplendent and costly as silkman and jeweller could make them.

These young ladies came to court precisely as knights used to do of old, — to push their fortunes, — but not exactly after a knightly fashion. They hoped in some way to serve the sovereign ; or, failing him, to be agreeable to the Crown Prince George Louis (afterward George I. of England). But even the crown prince, a little and not an attractive person, to say nothing of the bishop, seemed for a time a flight above them. They could wait a new opportunity ; for as for defeat in their aspirations, they would not think of it. They had the immense power of those persons who are possessed by one single idea, and who are under irresistible compulsion to carry it out to reality. They could not reach the prince-bishop or his heir, and accordingly they directed the full force of their enchantments at two very unromantic-looking personages, the private tutors of the young princes of Hanover. They were soon mighty at Greek particles, learned in the aorists, fluent on the digamma, and familiar with the mysteries of the differential calculus.

Catherine and Elizabeth von Meissengen opened a new grammar before their learned pundits, the Herrn Busche and Platen ; and truth to tell, the philosophers were nothing loath to pursue the new study taught by such professors. When this educational course had come to a close, the public recognised at once its aim, quality, and effects, by learning that the sage preceptors had actually married two of the

liveliest and lightest-footed of girls who had ever danced a branle at the balls in Brunswick. The wives, on first appearing in public after their marriage, looked radiant with joy. The tutors wore about them an air of constraint, as if they thought the world needed an apology, by way of explaining how two elders had permitted themselves to be vanquished by a brace of Susannas. Their ideas were evidently confused, but they took courage as people cheerfully laughed, though they may have lost it again on discovering that they had been drawn into matrimony by two gracefully graceless nymphs, whose sole object was to use their spouses as stepping-stones to a higher greatness.

There must have been many attendant advantages in connection with such an object, or the two married philosophers would hardly have worn the air of content which they put on as soon as they saw the aim of their estimable wives, and felt the gain thence accruing.

Elizabeth von Meissengen, the wife of Platen, was the true mistress of the situation. Platen, principally through her intrigues, had been appointed prime minister of the sovereign bishop. The business to be transacted by potentate and premier could not have been very extensive, — but it was serious on one point, seeing that that had reference to the question of the succession of the house of Brunswick to the throne of Great Britain. But as this question was not one of a “much vexed” character, the time passed by Platen with his sovereign master afforded him ample leisure to talk of his wife, praise her political abilities, and overeulogise her, as men and women

do the consorts for whom they have no cause to bear an overheaped measure of respect.

The prince-bishop felt his curiosity excited to behold and study more nearly this phoenix of a woman. The curiosity of such a sovereign a loyal subject would, of course, be eager to gratify. It was, therefore, the most natural of consequences that Von Platen should lead his lady to his master's feet, though it perhaps was not so natural that he should leave her there to "improve" the position thus reached.

The lady lost no time in justifying all that her husband had advanced in warranty of her talent, skill, and willingness to use them for the advantage of the bishop and his dominions; the powerful prelate was enchanted with her, — enchanted with her in every sense. Were I treating of mythic, classical, or romantic mediæval days, it would just be barely possible to throw a poetical feeling round such a "tableau" as that presented by the bishop and the diplomatic Madame von Platen. But "Hebe in Hercules's arms" is very well in statuary, and "Dido with Æneas" may be attractive on canvas, while the love adventures of Arthur, and the adventurous and liberal love of Guinevere may amuse us in ballads, — but there is a light of reality which does not dazzle us like the light of romance. Full in such illumination is revealed to us the picture of Bishop Ernest and Elizabeth von Platen. A more shameless couple never stood at the tribunal of judgment; but if they were not ashamed of their own iniquity, therein lies no reason why we should detail it. Quite sufficient will it be to remark, that it had its reward; and if

the wages of sin, in this case, were not literally a death, they were at least quite as retributive, and not the more welcome.

When Alcides submitted to take the distaff of Omphale, and uncomplainingly endured to be buffeted by her slipper, he only afforded an illustration of how power may playfully make itself the slave of weakness, — there is even something pretty in the picture. It is strong man yielding to womanly influence; and the picture only ceases to be heroic, without ceasing to be of an amiable aspect, when the chief character is poor, sickly Cowper winding up cotton in reels for good Mrs. Unwin.

But the obese Ernest Augustus in the hands of the youthful Elizabeth von Platen, reminds me of nothing so much as of the "Lion in Love," deservedly having his claws clipped by the clever object of his ridiculous adoration: the fate of the lion was also that of the bishop. He was not, indeed, a man of weak mind, but that of Madame von Platen was still stronger. He could rule his minister, but not his minister's wife; and most appropriately might he have made paraphrastic application of the line in Othello, and have declared his consciousness with a sigh, that his "general's wife was now the general."

CHAPTER III.

THE BRUNSWICKER IN ENGLAND

Prince Augustus of Wolfenbüttel, the Accepted Lover of Sophia—
Superstition of the Duke of Zell—Intrigues of Madame von
Platen—A Rival Lover—Prince George Louis: Makes an
Offer of Marriage to Princess Anne—Policy of the Prince of
Orange—Prince George in England: Festivities on Account of
His Visit—Execution of Lord Stafford—Illness of Prince
Rupert—The Bill of Exclusion, and the Duke of York at Holy-
rood—Probable Succession of the House of Brunswick—Prince
George Recalled—Successful Intrigues of Sophia, Wife of
Ernest—A Group for an Artist—Ill-fated Marriage of Sophia
—Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia—"Goody Palsgrave"—The
Electress Sophia, and Her Intellectual Skirmishes.

WHILE all was loose and lively at the court of the
bishop, the daily routine of simple pleasures and
duties alone marked the course of events at the mod-
est court of the Duke of Zell. The monotony of the
latter locality was, however, agreeably interrupted by
the arrival there of his Serene Highness Prince Au-
gustus William of Wolfenbüttel. He had just been
edified by what he had witnessed during his brief
sojourn in the episcopal circle of Osnaburgh, where
he had seen two ladies exercising a double influence,
Madame von Platen ruling her husband and his mas-
ter, while her sister, Caroline von Busche, was
equally obeyed by her consort and his Highness
George Louis, the bishop's son.

Prince Augustus of Wolfenbüttel was the brother of that early suitor of the little Sophia Dorothea, who had met a soldier's death at the siege of Philipsburg. He was, like his brother, not so rich in gold pieces as in good qualities, and was more wealthy in virtues than in acres. He was a bachelor prince, with a strong inclination to lay down his bachelorship, at the feet of a lady who would, by addition of her dowry, increase the greatness and material comforts of both. Not that Augustus of Wolfenbüttel was mercenary; he was simply prudent. A little princely state in Germany costs a great deal to maintain, and when the errant prince went forth in search of a lady with a dower, his last thought was to offer himself to one who had no heart, or who had no place in his own. If there was some system, a little method, and an air of business about the passion and principle of the puissant Prince Augustus, something thereof must be laid to the charge of the times, and a little to the princely matter-of-fact good sense: he is a wise and a merciful man, who, before he comes to conclusions with a lady on the chapter of matrimony, first weighs prospects, and establishes, as far as in him lies, a security of sunshine.

Augustus of Wolfenbüttel had long suspected that the sun of his future home was to be found at Zell, and in the person of his young cousin Sophia Dorothea. Even yet tradition exists among Brunswick maidens as to the love-passages of this accomplished and handsome young couple. Those passages have been enlarged for the purposes of romance writers, but divested of all exaggeration there remains enough to prove, as touching this pair, that

they were well assorted both as to mind and person ; that their inclinations were toward each other ; and that they were worthy of a better fate than that which fell upon the honest and warm affection which reigned in the hearts of both.

The love of these cousins was not the less ardent for the fact of its being partially discouraged. The Duke of Zell looked upon the purpose of Prince Augustus with an unfavourable eye. He had indeed nothing to object to the suitor's person, character, position, or prospects. He did not deny that with such a husband his daughter might secure that which M. Necker's daughter has designated as woman's sole blessing, happiness in the married state ; but then that suitor was the successor of a dead brother, who had been the prosecutor of a similar suit. The simple-minded duke had an unfeigned superstitious awe of the new lover ; and the idea of consenting to a match under the circumstances as they presented themselves, seemed to him tantamount to a species of sacrilege, outraging the manes and memory of the defunct kinsman.

But then, on the other hand, the duke loved his daughter, and the daughter assuredly loved Augustus of Wolfenbüttel ; and, added thereto, the good Duchess Eleanora was quite disposed to see the cherished union accomplished, and to bestow her benediction upon the well-favoured pair. Altogether, there were strong odds against the opposition of a father, which rested on no better foundation than a tripod, if one may so speak, of whim, doubt, and a fear of ghosts. He was influenced, possibly, by his extensive reading in old legendary ballad-lore, metrical and melancholy

German romances, the commonest incident in which is the interruption of a marriage ceremony by a spiritual personage professing priority of right.

It was not without infinite trouble that the lovers and the duchess succeeded in breaking down the opposition of the duke. Even when his reluctant consent had been given, he was everlastingly bringing forward the subject of the departed suitors, until his remarks became as wearisome as the verses of the German author, who wrote a poem of three hundred lines in length, all about pigs, and every word of which began with the letter P.

The opposition to the marriage was not, however, all surmounted when the antagonism of the duke had been successfully overcome. A father may be accounted for something even in a German dukedom; but a mistress may be stronger, and Madame von Platen has the credit of having carried out her opposition to the match to a very successful issue.

It is asserted of this clever lady, that she was the first who caused the Bishop of Osnaburgh thoroughly to comprehend that Sophia Dorothea would form a very desirable match for his son George Louis. The young lady had lands settled on her which might as well be added to the territory of that electoral Hanover of which the prince-bishop was soon to be the head. Every acre added to the possessions of the chief of the family would be by so much an increase of dignity, and little sacrifices were worth making to effect great and profitable results. The worthy pair, bishop and female prime minister, immediately proceeded to employ every conceivable engine whereby they might destroy the fortress of the hopes of

Sophia Dorothea and Augustus of Wolfenbüttel. They cared for nothing, save that the hand of the former should be conferred upon the bishop's eldest son; that George who was subsequently our George I., and who had as little desire to be matched with his cousin, or his cousin with him, as kinsfolk can have who cordially detest each other.

George Louis was not shaped for a lover. He was not indeed so deformed as Prince Riquet with the tuft, but neither was he possessed of that legendary prince's wit, refinement, and most winning ways. George Louis was mean in person and character. Epaminondas was little more than a dwarf, but then he was a giant measured by the stature of his worth. Not so this heir of great hopes; he was the lord of small virtues; and his insignificance of person was insignificant only because it bore not about it any manly stamp, or outward promise of an inward merit. George was brave indeed; to none of the princes of the house of Brunswick can be denied the possession of bravery. In all the bloody and useless wars of the period, he had distinguished himself by his dauntless courage and his cool self-possession. I have intimated that he was not heroic, but I may correct the phrase; he really looked heroic at the head of his squadron, charging across the battle-field, and carrying his sword and his fringed and feathered hat into the very thickest of the fray, where the thunder was loudest, and death revelled amid the incense of villainous saltpetre. He did not fail, it may be added, in one of the characteristics of bravery, humanity on the field. He had no great heart for the common sufferings, or the mental anguish, of others; but for a wounded foe

he had a thorough English respect, and he no more dreamed of the Muscovite officers' fashion of massacring the helpless wounded enemy than he did of the millennium.

Out of the field of battle George Louis was an extremely ordinary personage, except in his vices. He was coarsely minded and coarsely spoken, and his profligacy was so extreme of character,—it bore about it so little of what Lord Chesterfield recommended when he said a man might be gentlemanlike even in his vices, that even the bishop, easy as he was both as parent and prelate, and rich as he was himself in evil example to a son who needed no such warrant to plunge headlong into sin,—even the bishop felt uncomfortable for awhile. He thought, however, as easy fathers do sometimes think, that marriage would cure profligacy. When we read in German ballads of pure young girls being sacrificed to monsters, the meaning probably is, that they are given, unconsulted and unheeded, to lords and masters who are odious to them.

George Louis was now in his twenty-second year. He was born in 1660, and he had recently acquired increase of importance from the fact of his sire having succeeded to the estates, grandeur, and expectations of his predecessor, Duke John Frederick. The latter was on his way to Rome, in 1679, a city which he much loved, holding in respect a good portion of what is taught there. He was proceeding thither with a view of a little more of pleasure, and something therewith of instruction, when a sudden attack of illness carried him off; and his death excited as much grief in the bishop as it possibly could in one

who had little reverence for the duke, by whose death he profited largely.

When the bishop, as a natural consequence of this death, established a gayer court at Hanover than had ever yet been seen there, became sovereign duke, made a sovereign duchess of his wife Sophia, of whom I shall have to speak more at large, in a future page, and raised George Louis to the rank of a "crown prince," a title given to many heirs who could inherit nothing but coronets, — the last-named individual began to consider speculatively as to what royal lady he might, with greatest prospect of advantage to himself, make offer of his hand.

At the time here spoken of, it will be remembered that Charles II. was King in England. The king's brother, James, Duke of York, had a daughter, a certain "Lady Anne," who is better known to us all by her after-title, in which there is undeniable truth seasoned by a little flattery, of "good Queen Anne." In the year 1680, George of Hanover came over to England with matrimonial views respecting that young princess. He had on his way visited William of Orange, at The Hague; and when that calculating prince was made the confidential depository of the views of George Louis respecting the Princess Anne of England, he listened with much complacency, but is suspected of having forthwith set on foot the series of intrigues which, helped forward by Madame von Platen, ended in the recall of George from England, and in his hapless marriage with the more hapless Sophia Dorothea.

George of Hanover left The Hague with the conviction that he had a friend in William; but William

was no abettor of marriages with the Princess Anne, and least of all could he wish success to the hereditary prince of Hanover, whose union with one of the heiresses of the British throne might, under certain contingencies, miserably mar his own prospects. The case is very succinctly put by Miss Strickland, who makes allusion to the subject of this visit and contemplated marriage in her life of Mary, the wife of William. "If George of Hanover married Anne of York, and the Princess of Orange died first, without offspring (as she actually did), William of Orange would have had to give way before their prior claims on the succession; to prevent which he set at work a threefold series of intrigues, in the household of his sister-in-law, at the court of Hanover, and that of Zell." The plot was as complicated as any in a Spanish comedy, and it is as hard to unravel.

A history of Brunswick, published anonymously soon after the accession of George I. to the crown of these realms, asserts that the prince arrived in this country to prosecute his suit to the Princess Anne, who had just been somewhat unexpectedly deprived of another lover, on the 17th of November, 1680. The Sidney diary fixes his arrival at Greenwich on the 6th of December of that year. England was much disturbed at the time by a double subject of discussion. Men's minds were much occupied with the question of excluding from the succession to the throne James, the father of the lady to whom George came a-wooing. The second subject of disquietude was the trial of Lord Viscount Stafford, then in process of being slowly murdered by a judicial trial, on a charge of conspiring the death of the king. The

charge was supported by the oaths, made with alacrity, of that pupil of whom Merchant Tailors' School is not proud, Titus Oates, and one or two others—liars as stupendous. If George Louis landed at Greenwich, as is said, on the 6th of December, 1680, it was the day on which the calumniated nobleman entered on his defence. On the 7th he was condemned, and Evelyn, who was present at the trial, rightly remarks upon the guilt or innocence of the accused in this strain: "I can hardly think that a person of his age and experience should engage men whom he never saw before (and one of them who came to visit him as a stranger at Paris), pointblank to murder the king;" but in recollection of the deliberate and hard swearing, he adds, perplexedly, "God only, who searches hearts, can discover the truth." On the 29th of the month, Viscount Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill, and at this lively spectacle George of Hanover was probably present, for on the 30th of the month he sends a long letter to her Serene Highness, his mother, stating that "they cut off the head of Lord Stafford yesterday, and made no more ado about it than if they had chopped off the head of a pullet."

In this letter, the writer enters into the details of the incidents of his arrival and reception in England. His Highness's spelling of the names of places is as defective as that of poor Caroline of Brunswick generally was, and it reminds us, if one may go to the stage for a simile, of the "cacology" of Lord Duberly. However, the prince spelt quite as correctly as many a lord, or lady either, of his time. The tenor of his epistle is, that he remained one

whole day at anchor at "Grunnwitsch" (which is his reading of Greenwich), while his secretary, Mr. Beck, went ashore to look for a house for him, and find out his uncle Prince Rupert. Scant ceremony was displayed, it would appear, to render hospitable welcome to such a visitor. Hospitality, however, was not altogether lacking. The zealous Beck found out "Uncle Robert," as the prince ungermanises Rupert, and the uncle, having little of his own to offer to his nephew, straightway announced to Charles II. the circumstance that the princely lover of his niece was lying in the mud off "Grunnwitsch." "His Majesty," says George Louis, "immediately ordered them apartments at Writhall,"—and he then proceeds to state that he had not been there above two hours when Lord Hamilton arrived to conduct him to the king, who received him most obligingly. He then adds, "Prince Robert had preceded me, and was at court when I saluted King Charles. In making my obeisance to the king, I did not omit to give him the letter of your Serene Highness; after which he spoke of your Highness, and said that he 'remembered you very well.' When he had talked with me some time, he went to the queen, and as soon as I arrived, he made me kiss the hem of her Majesty's petticoat. The next day I saw the Princess of York (the Lady Anne), and I saluted her by kissing her, with the consent of the king. The day after I went to visit Prince Robert, who received me in bed, for he has a malady in his leg, which makes him very often keep his bed. It appears that it is so, without any pretext, and he has to take care of himself. He had not failed of coming to see me one

day. All the lords come to see me, *sans prétendre la main chez moi*" (probably, rather meaning without ceremony, without kissing hands, as was the common custom in Germany, from inferiors to superiors, and still remains a custom in Southern Germany, than, as has been suggested, that "they came without venturing to shake hands with him").

There is something melancholy in the idea of the fiery Rupert held ingloriously prostrate in bed by a sore leg; and there is a subject for a picture in the profligate little George, saluting the lips of the cold Princess Anne. Cold, at all events, and deaf, if we were to judge by results, did the princess remain to the suit of the Hanoverian wooer. The suit, indeed, was not pressed by any sanction of the lady's father, who, during the three months' sojourn of George Louis in England, remained in rather secluded state, at Holyrood. Neither was the suit opposed by James. In the seclusion to which he was condemned by Charles, who bade him take patience, a commodity much needed by himself, James was troubled but little touching the suitor of his daughter. He had personal troubles enough of his own wherewith to be concerned, and therewith sundry annoyances. On the Christmas day of this year, while George of Hanover was enjoying the festivities of this time, at the side of James's daughter, the students of King's College, Edinburgh, entertained James himself by a spectacle which must have raised a sardonic smile on his usually sardonic face. Those young gentlemen burnt the Pope in effigy, in front of Holyrood House, and beneath the windows of the apartments occupied by James. Sir John Lauder

apologises for this rudeness by kindly explaining that "this was highly resented as an inhospitable affront to the Duke of York, though it was only to his religion." As if an affront to what is so sacred, could be excused by an "only." But it was at a time when the actors at the "Théâtre Royal" in London were playing "The Female Prelate," and George Louis had a good opportunity of hearing in what rugged hexameters was told the story of Joanna Angelica. How the offended became the slighted mistress of the Duke of Saxony, vowed revenge, turned monk, became Pope, and after revenging the injuries she had received from the duke, as woman, condemned him to the stake for his blasphemies against her as Pope.

Among the "celebrations" of the visit of George Louis to this country, was the pomp of the ceremony which welcomed him to Cambridge. Never had the groves or stream of Cam been made vocal by the echoes of such laudation as was given and taken on this solemnly hilarious occasion. There was much feasting, which included very much drinking, and much expenditure of heavy compliment in very light Latin. Scaliger's assertion, that the Germans do not care what wine they drink, so long as it is wine, nor what Latin they speak, so long as it is Latin, is a calumny. They are nice connoisseurs of both. George and his trio of followers, who were made doctors of law by the scholastic authorities, were too polite to criticise either. The honour, however, was hardly more appropriate than when a similar one was conferred, in after years, upon Blücher and the celebrated artillery officer, Gneisenau. "Ah!" ex-

claimed the veteran leader, "they are going to make me a doctor ; but it was Gneisenau that furnished all the pills."

That Parliament was convened at Oxford whereby there was, as Evelyn remarks, "great expectation of his Royal Highness's cause, as to the succession against which the House was set," and therewith there was, according to the same diarist, "an extraordinary, sharp, cold spring, not yet a leaf upon the trees, frost and snow lying while the whole nation was in the greatest ferment." Such was the Parliament, and such the spring, when George Louis was suddenly called home. He was highly interested in the bill, which was read a first time at that Parliament, as also in the "expedients" which were proposed in lieu of such bill, and rejected. The expedients proposed instead of the Bill of Exclusion in this Parliament, were that the whole government, upon the death of Charles II., should be vested in a regent, who should be the Princess of Orange, and if she died without issue, then the Princess Anne should be regent. But if James, Duke of York, should have a son educated a Protestant, then the regency should last no longer than his minority, and that the regent should govern in the name of the father while he lived ; but that he should be obliged to reside five hundred miles from the British dominions ; and if the duke should return to these kingdoms, the crown should immediately devolve on the regent, and the duke and his adherents be deemed guilty of high treason.

Here was matter in which the Hanoverian suitor was doubly interested both as man and as lover.

However strenuously some writers may assert that the heads of the house of Brunswick troubled themselves in no wise upon the question of the succession, no one can deny, or doubt, that they had a deep, though, it may be as yet, a distant interest in it. Their concern was greater than their professed adherents will consent to acknowledge. Nor was there anything unnatural or unbecoming in such concern. The possible inheritance of even such a throne as that of England was in the days of Charles II., when Britain was treated with a contempt by other nations which of right belonged only to her worthless sovereign — even a possible inheritance to even such a throne was not to be contemplated without emotion. An exclusive Protestant succession made such a heritage possible to the house of Brunswick, and if ever the heads of that house, before the object of their hopes was realised, ceased to be active for its realisation, it was when assurance was made doubly sure, and action was unnecessary.

It is not easy to determine what part William of Orange had in the recall of George Louis from England, but the suddenness of that recall was an object of some admiring perplexity to a lover, who left a lady who was by no means inconsolable, and who, two years afterward, was gaily married at St. James's to the Prince of Denmark, on the first leisure day between the executions of Russell and of Sidney.

George Louis, however, obeyed the summons of his sovereign and father, but it was not until his arrival in Hanover that he found himself called upon to transfer the prosecution of his matrimonial suit from one object to another. The ruling idea in the

mind of Ernest Augustus was, that if the territory of Zell were united to that of Hanover, there would be an increased chance of procuring from the emperor its elevation to an electorate; and he felt that, however he might have provided to secure his succession to the dominions of Zell, the marriage of his son with the duke's only child would add thereto many broad acres, the possession of which would add dignity to the elector.

Sophia Dorothea was still little more than a child; but that very circumstance was made use of in order to procure the postponement of her marriage with Augustus of Wolfenbüttel. The Duke of Zell did not stand in need of much argument from his brother to understand that the union of the young lovers might more properly be celebrated when the bride was sixteen than a year earlier. The duke was ready to accept any reasoning, the object of which was to enable him to retain his daughter another year at his side. Accordingly a betrothal only took place between Sophia and Augustus, and the public ceremony of marriage was deferred for a year and some supplementary months.

It was a time which was very actively employed by those who hoped to accomplish much before it had quite expired. Latimer remarks, that the devil is the only prelate he knew who is for ever busy in his diocese. He certainly was unweariedly occupied for a time in that portion of his see which is comprised in the narrow limits including Hanover and Zell. And it was an occupation in which that dark diocesan must have been especially delighted. The end of the action employed was to destroy the happi-

ness of two young persons who were bound to each other by the strong bonds of respect and affection. A bad ambition was the impelling motive of such action. The devil, then, never had work which so exactly suited his Satanic nature.

His ministers, however worthy they may have been of their master, as far as zeal was concerned, did him or themselves little credit with regard to the measure of their success. The sixteenth birthday of Sophia Dorothea had arrived, and George Louis had made no impression on her heart — the image of the absent Augustus still lived there ; and the whole plot would have failed but for the sudden, and active, and efficient energy of one who seemed as if she had allowed matters to proceed to extremity in order to exhibit the better her own powers when she condescended to interfere personally, and remedy the ill success of others by a triumph of her own. That person was Sophia, the wife of Ernest, a lady who rivalled Griselda in one point of her patience — that which she felt for her husband's infidelities. In other respects she was crafty, philosophical, and free-thinking ; but she was as ambitious as any of her family, and as she had resolved on the marriage of her son, George Louis, with Sophia Dorothea, she at once proceeded to accomplish that upon which she had resolved.

It had suddenly come to her knowledge that Augustus of Wolfenbüttel had made his reappearance at the court of Zell. Coupling the knowledge of this fact with the remembrance that Sophia Dorothea was now sixteen years of age, and that at such a period her marriage had been fixed, the mother of

George Louis addressed herself at once to the task of putting her son in the place of the favoured lover. She ordered out the heavy coach and heavier Mecklenburg horses, by which German potentates were wont to travel stately and leisurely by post some two centuries ago. It was night when she left Hanover; and although she had not farther to travel than an ordinary train could now accomplish in an hour, it was broad daylight before this match-making and match-breaking lady reached the portals of the ducal palace of Zell.

There was something delightfully primitive in the method of her proceeding. She did not despise state, except on occasions when serious business was on hand. The present was such an occasion, and she therefore waited for no usher to marshal her way and announce her coming to the duke. She descended from her ponderous coach, pushed aside the sleepy sentinel, who appeared disposed to question her, before he made way, and entering the hall of the mansion, loudly demanded of the few servants who came hurrying to meet her, to be conducted to the duke. It was intimated to her that he was then dressing, but that his Highness would soon be in a condition to descend and wait upon her.

Too impatient to tarry, and too eager to care for ceremony, she mounted the stairs, bade a groom of the chamber point out to her the door of the duke's room; and, her order having been obeyed, she forthwith pushed open the door, entered the apartment, and discovered the dismayed duke in the most *negligé* of *deshabillés*. She neither made apology nor would receive any, but intimating that she came

upon business, at once asked, "Where is your wife?" The flurried Duke of Zell pointed through an open door to a capacious bed in the adjacent room, wherein lay the wondering duchess, lost in eiderdown and deep amazement.

The "old Sophia," could have wished, it would seem, that she had been farther off. She was not quite rude enough to close the door, and so cut off all communication and listening; but remembering that the Duchess of Zell was but very indifferently acquainted with German, she ceased to speak in the language then common to the German courts, — French, — and immediately addressed the duke in hard Teutonic phrase, which was utterly unintelligible to the vexed and suspecting duchess.

This was another group for an artist desirous to illustrate the byways of history. Half undressed, the duke occupied a chair close to his toilet-table, while the astute wife of Ernest Augustus, seated near him, unfolded a narrative to which he listened with every moment an increase of complacency and conviction. The Duchess Eleanor, from her bed in the adjacent room, could see the actors, but could not comprehend the dialogue. But if the narrative was unintelligible to her, she could understand the drift of the argument; and as the names of her daughter and lover were being constantly pronounced with that of George Louis, the poor lady continued to lie helpless beneath much alarm and her silk counterpane.

The case was forcibly put by the mother of George. She showed how union makes strength, how little profit could arise from a match between Sophia Dor-

othea and Augustus of Wolfenbüttel, and how advantageous must be an union between the heir of Hanover and the heiress of the domains which her provident father had added to Zell, and had bequeathed to his daughter. She spoke of the certainty of Ernest Augustus being created arch-standard-bearer of the empire of Germany, and therewith Elector of Hanover. She hinted at the possibility even of Sophia Dorothea one day sharing with her son the throne of Great Britain. The hint, if really made, was somewhat premature, but the astute lady may have strengthened her case by reminding her hearer that the crown of England would most probably be reserved only for a Protestant succession, and that her son was, if a distant, yet not a very distant, and certainly a possible heir.

The obsequious Duke of Zell was bewildered by the visions of greatness presented to his mind's eye by his clever sister-in-law. He was as proud as the poor exiled Stanislaus, who entered his daughter's apartment, on the morning he received the application of Louis XV. for her hand, with the salutation, "Good morning, my child! you are Queen of France;" and then he kissed the hand of Marie Leczinska,—the happy father, too happy to be the first to render homage to his daughter on her becoming what he had ceased to be—a sovereign oppressed by responsibilities. The Duke of Zell was almost as eager to go and congratulate his daughter. With ready lack of honesty, he had consented to break off the match between Sophia Dorothea and her affianced lover, and to bestow her hand upon the careless prince for whom it was now demanded by his mother. The latter

returned to Hanover perfectly satisfied with the work of that night and morning.

The same satisfaction was not experienced by the Duchess Eleanor. When she came to learn the facts, she burst forth in expressions of grief and indignation. The marriage which had now been definitively broken, had been with her an affair of the heart, — of a mother's heart. It had not been less an affair of the heart — of a young girl's heart — with Sophia Dorothea; and the princely lover from Wolfenbüttel had invested as much heart in the matter as had ever been known in German times when minstrel sang of knights whose chivalry more than half consisted of fidelity in love. It was a pitiable case! There were three persons who were to be rendered irretrievably wretched, in order, not that any one might be rendered happy, but that a man, without a heart, might be made a little more spacious in the possession of dirt. The acres of Zell were to bring misery on their heiress, and every acre was to purchase its season of sorrow.

No entreaty could move the duke. In his dignity he forgot the father: and the prayers and tears of his child failed to touch the parent, who really loved her well, but whose affection was dissolved beneath the fiery heat of his ambition. He was singularly ambitious; for the possible effect of a marriage with George Louis was merely to add his own independent duchy of Lunebourg to the dominions of Hanover. His daughter, moreover, detested her cousin, and his wife detested her sister-in-law, — above all, the newly accepted bridegroom, if he did not detest, had no shadow, nor affected to have any shadow, of respect,

regard, or affection for the poor young victim who was to be flung to him with indecent and unnatural disregard of all her feelings as daughter and maiden.

The matter was urged onward by Sophia of Hanover; and in testimony of the freedom of inclination with which Sophia Dorothea acted on this marriage, she addressed a formal letter to the mother of her proposed husband, expressive of her obedience to the will of her father, and promissory of the same obedience to the requirements of her future mother-in-law. It is a mere formal document, proving nothing but that it was penned for the assumed writer by a cold-hearted inventor, and that the heart of the copier was far away from her words.

After a world of misery and mock wooing, crowded into a few months, the hateful and ill-omened marriage took place at Zell on the 21st of November, 1682. The bride was sixteen, the bridegroom twenty-two. There was quite enough on both sides to make happiness, if youth could establish felicity; but in this case the maiden, who was one of the fairest and most refined of German maidens, had neither heart nor regard for the youth, who was one of the least attractive in mind or person who could address himself to win a maiden's hand, which, on the present occasion, was the very last thing he thought of doing.

The marriage took place, as I have stated, on the 21st of November, 1682; a week after, Prince Rupert, who for some time before had been sunning himself, a poor invalid, beneath the beeches at Windsor, died at his house in Spring Gardens (where he had resided

for eight years) — as though the intelligence of the marriage had been too much for his worn-out spirit — or its shattered tabernacle.

Of the splendour which attended the ceremony, court historiographers wrote in loyal ecstasy and large folios, describing every character and dress, every incident and dish, every tableau and trait, with a minuteness almost inconceivable, and a weariness saddening even to think of. They thought of everything but the heart of the principal personage in the ceremony — that of the bride. They could describe the superb lace which veiled it, and prate of its value and workmanship; but of the worth and woe of the heart which beat beneath it, these courtly historians knew no more than they did of honesty. Their flattery was of the grossest, but they had no comprehension of "the situation." To them all mortals were but as ballet-dancers and pantomimists, and if they were but bravely dressed, and picturesquely grouped, the describers thereof thought of nothing beyond.

The maker of this splendidly miserable marriage was proud of her achievement. She claims a word of description for herself, even though it be at the end of a chapter.

Chevreau, the friend of the Elector Palatine Charles Louis, the brother of Sophia, said of the Duchess of Hanover, "that in all France there exists no one of a more excellent wit than the Duchess Sophia;" and, as if to show that there were things in Germany as valuable as wit, he adds, "neither is there any one more deeply instructed in philosophical science than her sister, the Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia."

Sophia had been born in a school which sharpens

wit. Her mother was the high-spirited daughter of a meanly spirited king, who allowed her to marry as poor-spirited a prince. Elizabeth, daughter of James I., used to say to her rather provoking and not very Protestant mother, Anne of Denmark, that she would not be a Romanist to gain the most brilliant crown in the world. She was married to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, when the religious revolutions of the time called him to the newly created throne of Bohemia, whereon his gallant wife would have held him, had she only, in return, been supported by her father. "Goody Palsgrave" was hardly a harsh nickname for such a consort as hers. He had nothing of the manly courage which looks misfortune steadily in the face, and strives to make it lead to ultimate success. He lost a kingdom, with tears in his eyes, like the Moor in Spain, — and thereupon submitted, yet with nothing of heroic patience, to destiny. So, he lost the young prince, Frederick Henry, his son, who was drowned in his sight, — calling to him for help. He could bewail the lot of his perishing boy, but even parental love could not nerve him to strike out boldly and save the sinking child. Like his misfortunes, his children were not few, but they were singularly unlike their father. His son, Charles Louis, perhaps, had some points of resemblance with his sire; but how unlike him was the fiery Rupert! how unlike the "Grave Maurice," named so, not from his gravity, but from his rank! His daughters, too, partook more of their mother's mental qualities than those of her husband. Adversity, tribulation, flattery, or deception, worked in each — Elizabeth, Louisa, Henrietta, and Sophia — various results; but

the mother's intellect was inherited by all, without all of them possessing the mother's virtues.

Whilst the mother was dwelling at The Hague, absent from the electoral court of her son, Sophia was the chosen companion, the solace, and the joy of the deep-thinking and wild-dreaming Elizabeth, her sister. The latter heard with some surprise, and still more indignation, that the heavy Duke of Brunswick, Ernest Augustus, had made an offer of marriage to the brilliant and light-hearted Sophia. The offer smacked of presumption, for Sophia was the daughter of a king, though but of a poor and brief-reigning monarch; whereas Ernest Augustus was but a duke, with large pride, but a very small estate, and not rich in expectations. No one could have guessed, when he went a-wooing to the gay and intellectual Sophia, that he would ever be more than Duke of Brunswick and Bishop of Osnaburgh. It did not enter into popular speculation that he would ever be Duke of Brunswick and Elector of Hanover. On the other hand, speculation could hardly have imagined, in the year 1658, that the young Sophia would be the heiress of a throne and the mother of a line of kings. Her own mother, the ex-Queen of Bohemia, decidedly looked upon the match as a *mésalliance*, but it was one of those which may be said, in more than in the popular and proverbial sense, to have been made in heaven; for though it could not personally benefit the daughter of James I., it gave a crown to the grandchild of her who had so proudly declared that she would rather forfeit the most glorious crown on earth than retain it by the surrender of Protestantism. It was doubly right that in the Protestant child of such

a mother, the succession to the throne of these realms should have been fixed. We shall hear subsequently of the granddaughter of Charles I., the Duchess of Savoy (subsequently Queen of Sardinia), protesting against such an arrangement. Her protest was not valid, only because it was not founded on the principles which were asserted by Elizabeth of Bohemia, and which influenced her daughter Sophia. The daughter of Charles the First's youngest daughter would fain have had the throne of England rendered accessible to herself and heirs, although Romanists, upon the poor understanding of toleration to the reformed faith. Our forefathers would have nothing to do with such compromise, and they who kept to the purer faith gained the splendid prize.

Sophia was married in 1658, and during a long course of subsequent years she sustained the highest reputation for shrewdness, extensive knowledge, wit, acute observation, originality of conception, and brilliancy of expression. She had not, indeed, the stern steadiness of principle of her mother, and she was by far more ambitious, while she was less scrupulous as to the means employed for the attainment of her ends. Men of less information than herself were afraid of her, for she was fond of triumphing in argument. But she was previously well armed for securing such triumphs, and the amount of knowledge which she had made her own, amid scenes and trials and dissipations little favourable to the amassing of such intellectual treasure, is accounted for by a remark of Leibnitz, with whom she loved to hold close intercourse, — to the effect that she was not only given to asking why, but that, as he quaintly puts it,

she invariably wanted to know the why of the whys. In other words, she accepted no reasons which were not rendered strictly intelligible to her.

And then, she was as pretty as she was clever; without a tinge of pertness to spoil her beauty, or a trace of pedantry to mar her scholarship. If she loved to win logical battles by power of the latter, and fought boldly, eagerly, and with every sense awake to profit by the weakness of her adversary, it was all done gaily, and lightly; and if great wits were rolled over in the dust when they tilted against her in intellectual tournaments, they were ready to acknowledge that they were struck down with a most consummate grace.

She as much enjoyed to see these battlings of brains between other parties, as to sustain the fight herself. When her sister Elizabeth had withdrawn from the world, and retired within the Protestant abbey of Herford, to dream with the dreaming Labadie and his disciples over theories more baseless than dreams themselves, the gay Sophia once surprised her too grave sister with a visit. She brought in her train the ecclesiastical superintendent of Osnaburgh for the express purpose of "pitting" him against the prophet and reformer Labadie. Prince Charles, the son of Charles Louis (brother of Elizabeth and Sophia), and his tutor, Paul Hackenburg, were witnesses or partakers in the intellectual skirmish. Hackenburg has left a graphic description of the onslaught between the orthodox Osnaburgher and the new apostle Labadie; at which Sophia assisted without uttering a remark, but not without giving evidence of much enjoyment. When all was over,

says Paul, "during dinner we talked of nothing else but this absurd and quaking sort of piety to which people are sometimes brought, and our astonishment could hardly find words when, alluding to the number of young women of the best families, richly dressed, brilliant with beauty and youth, who were insane enough to give up the conduct of their souls to this worst of men and most powerless of priests (only to be laughed at too by him in secret), and who were so riveted to their delusions that neither the prayers of their parents, nor the pleadings of their betrothed, nor the prospect of maternal joys could tear them away ; some among them said they were surely hypochondriacs and unanswerable for what they might do ; others opined that they should all be sent to the baths of Schwalbach or Pyrmont, and that probably they would come back cured. All these remarks and discussions made the Princess Elizabeth highly indignant, and she exclaimed against the unkindness which could induce any one to ascribe to bodily infirmity a greater degree of piety wherewith the Holy Ghost chose to inspire a certain number of individuals purer than the rest ! But to this the Electress Sophia, a lady of extraordinary beauty, found an answer which turned all bitterness into general mirth, by asserting, with mock gravity, that her sister's sole reason for holding to the Labadists was that they were stingy housekeepers, and cost little or nothing to keep." Hackenburg says that the accusation was a true one, but it may be added that, whatever the cost of this household, it never incurred debt, never allowed expenses to go beyond its means ; and if the Lady of Hanover and her lord had always followed the same

vulgar fashion, it would have been none the worse for their reputation and comfort, or for that perhaps of some of their descendants, who might otherwise have profited by example.

Spittler, writing of Sophia and her husband, says, rather too panegyrically, perhaps: "Through the complicated events of their troublous times, this princely pair are a sort of landmark whereon to rest the eye, and form a proof of how much good may be done by those who hold an exalted position. We must admire that really German intellectual enthusiasm which made them the friends of Leibnitz, that systematic firmness which characterised their government, and allied to ceaselessly active efforts for the public good that untiring patience and longanimity so easy to learn in years of discouragement, and generally so easily forgotten when years of greater prosperity are reached." This is rather showing the principal characters in the drama under a flood of pink light, but there is much therein that is fairly applicable to the wife of Ernest Augustus.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF GEORGE AND SOPHIA

Reception of Sophia at the Court of Ernest Augustus — Similar Position of Marie Antoinette and Sophia — Misfortune of the Abigail Use — Compassionated by the Duchess of Zell — Intrigues and Revenge of Madame von Platen — A New Favourite, Mlle. Ermengarde von Schulemburg — A Marriage Fête, and Intended Insult to the Princess Sophia — Gross Vice of George Louis.

ACCORDING to Pope, it was "to curse Pamela with her prayers" that the gods —

"Gave the gilt coach and dappled Flanders mares,
The shining robes, rich jewels, beds of state,
And, to complete her bliss, a fool for mate.
She glares in balls, front boxes, and the ring,
A vain, unquiet, glitt'ring, wretched thing,
Pride, pomp, and state but reach her outward part;
She sighs, and is no duchess at her heart."

The greatness of Sophia Dorothea was no consequence of her prayers, and she was unlike the poet's Pamela in all things, save that she had "a fool for mate," spent her time in sighs, and was indeed "no duchess at her heart." For a few months after her husband had taken her to Hanover, she experienced perhaps a less degree of unhappiness than was ever her lot subsequently. Her open and gentle nature won the regard even of Ernest Augustus. That is,



CHAPTER IV.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF GEORGE AND SOPHIA

Reception of Henry at the Court of Edward Augustus — Similar Portraits of Mary, Elizabeth and Joseph — Michaelmas of the Abigail Case — Commemoration by the Ministry of Gull — Intrigue and Knowledge of Elizabeth van Hous — A New Testament, 1866. Expeditions to the Himalayas — A Marriage Offer and Contract — 1867 — The Personal Inquiry — Great View of George Loring

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The greatness of Sophia Dorothea was no consequence of her prayers, and she was unlike the poet's Pamela in all things, save that she had "a fool for mate," spent her time in sighs, and was indeed "no duchess at her heart." For a few months after her husband had taken her to Hanover, she experienced perhaps a less degree of unhappiness than was ever her subsequently. She was not grossly mistreated, and she found even in her husband's presence. That is

Sophia, Princess Palatine

Photogravure from the painting by G. Houthorst



he paid her as much regard as a man so coarsely minded as he was could feel for one of such true womanly dignity as his daughter-in-law.

His respect for her, however, may be best appreciated by the companionship to which he sometimes subjected her. He more frequently saw her in society with the immoral Madame von Platen than in the society of his own wife. The position of Sophia Dorothea with regard to this woman was not unlike that of Marie Antoinette at the court of Louis XV. with regard to Madame du Barri. Poor Marie Antoinette was, in some degree, the worse conditioned of the two, for her own mother, the great Maria Theresa, held friendly intercourse with the king's "favourites," and did not hesitate, when she had a political purpose in view, to address them by letter in terms of familiarity, if not of endearment. By her own mother she was exposed to much indecent outrage. It was otherwise with Sophia Dorothea. Her mother deplored her marriage as a miserable event, simply because she was aware, from the character of George Louis, that her husband would heap upon her nothing but insult and indignity. Ever after the separation of mother and daughter, the former seemed as one doomed to sit for ever beneath the shadow of a great sorrow. The first child of this marriage brought with him, however, some transitory promise of felicity. He was born at Hanover, on the 30th of October, 1683, and when his father conferred on him the names of George Augustus, he expressed pleasure at having an heir, and he even added some words of regard for the mother. But expression of regard is worth little unless its sincerity be proved by action. It was not

so in the present case. The second child of this marriage was a daughter, born in 1684. She was that Sophia Dorothea who subsequently married the King of Prussia. In tending these two children the mother found all the happiness she ever experienced during her married life. Soon after the birth of her daughter, George Louis openly neglected and openly exhibited his hatred of his wife. He lost no opportunity of irritating and outraging her, and she could not even walk through the rooms of the palace which she called her home, without encountering the abandoned female favourites of her husband, whose presence beneath such a roof was the uncleanest of pollutions and the most flagrant of outrages.

I have said that, in some respects, the position of Sophia Dorothea at Hanover was not unlike that of Marie Antoinette at Versailles. This similarity, however, is perhaps only to be discovered in the circumstances of both being subjected to the degradation of intercourse with women of little virtue but of large influence. Marie Antoinette indeed, like Sophia Dorothea, married a prince who, at the best, contemplated his wife with supreme indifference, but there was this difference in their respective destinies as married women, — Marie Antoinette gradually overcame her husband's want of regard, and he who had been the coldest of bridegrooms became, in after years, the most devoted of husbands and lovers. It was far otherwise with the wife of George Louis. The poor show of enforced ceremony, beneath which, during the first year of his marriage, he hid his want of affection for a wife as gentle and good as she was fair and accomplished, was not maintained after that

period. He did not even give himself the trouble to conceal from her his daily increasing aversion. She bore her fierce and bitter trial with calm dignity ;— and she was further unlike Marie Antoinette in this respect, that she was not “nearer her sex than her rank ;” a pithy saying of Rivarolle’s, which more correctly describes the wife of Louis XVI. than even Rivarolle himself either suspected or understood.

The prime mover of the hatred of George Louis for his consort was Madame von Platen, and this fact was hardly known to — certainly not allowed by — George Louis himself. There was one thing in which that individual had a fixed belief : his own sagacity and, it may be added, his own imaginary independence of outward influences. He was profound in some things, but, as frequently happens with persons who fancy themselves deep in all, he was very shallow in many. The Dead Sea is said to be in most places fifteen hundred feet deep, but there are spots where the lead will find bottom at two fathoms. George Louis may be compared with that sea. It was often impossible to divine his purpose, but quite as often his thoughts were as clearly discernible as the pebbles in the bed of a transparent brook. Madame von Platen saw through him thoroughly, and she employed her discernment for the furtherance of her own detestable objects.

The man who hated Aristides because he was called the “just,” was a man with whose feelings Madame von Platen could entertain sympathy. Sophia Dorothea had not merely contrived to win the good opinion of her mother-in-law, but the warm favour of Ernest Augustus. That grand potentate

looked upon her as the Duchess of Burgundy of his court. She was only so inasmuch as she was affectionate and obliging. In most other respects it would be as correct to compare her with Pompadour as with the duchess, who won the regard and penetrated the secrets of the *Grand Monarque*, only to betray both.

The praise of his daughter-in-law was ever the theme which hung on the lips of Ernest Augustus, and such eulogy was as poison poured in the ears of Madame von Platen. She dreaded the loss of her own influence over the father of George Louis, and she fancied she might preserve it by destroying the happiness of the wife of his son. Her hatred of that poor lady had been increased by a circumstance with which she could not be connected, but which nearly concerned her mother, the Duchess of Zell.

Ernest Augustus used occasionally to visit Madame von Platen at her own residence. He was an imitator of the way of life of Louis XIV.; and as that monarch more than once visited a "favourite," with a military escort attending him, trumpets heralding his passage, and his own queen dragged along in his train, so Ernest Augustus, with diminished state, but with more than enough of publicity, visited Madame von Platen. He was more inclined to conversation with her than with his prime minister, her husband; and she had wit enough, if not worth, to give warrant for such preference. Now and then, however, the ducal sovereign would repair to pay his homage to the lady, without previous notice being forwarded of his coming; and it was on one of these occasions that, on arriving at the mansion, or in the gardens of the mansion of his minister's spouse, he found, not the lady

of the house, who was absent, but her bright-eyed, ordinary-featured, and quick-witted handmaid, who bore a name which might have been given to such an official in Elizabethan plays, by Ford or Fletcher. Her name was "Use."

Ernest Augustus found the wit of Use much to his taste; and the delighted abigail was perfectly self-possessed, and more brilliant than common in the converse which she sustained for the pleasure of the sovereign, and her own expected profit. She had just, it is supposed, come to the point of some exquisitely epigrammatic tale, for the prince was laughing with his full heart, and her hand in his, and the 'tiring maiden was as radiant as successful wit and endeavour could make her, when Madame von Platen interrupted the sparkling colloquy by her more fiery presence. She affected to be overcome with indignation at the boldness of a menial who dared to make merry with a sovereign duke; and when poor Use had been rudely dismissed from the two presences — the one august and the other angry — Madame von Platen probably remonstrated with Ernest Augustus, respectfully or otherwise, upon his deplorable want of dignity and good taste.

But, to leave hypothesis for fact, we know that revenge certainly followed, whether remonstrance may or may not have been offered. Ernest Augustus went to sojourn for a time at one of his rural palaces, and he had no sooner left his capital than Madame von Platen committed the terrified Use to close imprisonment in the common gaol. The history of little German courts, as well as novels and dramas, in their illustrations of life, and in the mirror which they

hold up to nature, assure us that this exercise and abuse of power were not at all uncommon with the "favourites" of German princes. Their word was "all potential as the duke's," and doubtless Madame von Platen's authority was as good warrant for a Hanoverian gaoler to hold Use in custody, as if he had shut up that maid who offended by her wit, under the sign manual of Ernest Augustus himself.

Use was kept captive, and very shabbily treated, until Madame von Platen had resolved as to the further course which should be ultimately adopted toward her. She could bring no charge against her, save a pretended accusation of lightness of conduct and immorality scandalous to Hanoverian decorum. Under this charge she had her old handmaid drummed out of the town; and if the elder Duchess Sophia heard the tap of the drums which accompanied the alleged culprit to the gates, we can only suppose that she would have expelled Madame von Platen to the same music. But, in the first place, the wives of princes were by no means so powerful as their favourites; and, secondly, the friend of the philosophical Leibnitz was too much occupied with the sage to trouble herself with the affairs which gave concern to Madame von Platen.

The present affair, however, most nearly concerned poor Use, who found herself outside the city walls, friendless, penniless, with a damaged character, and nothing to cover it but the light costume which she had worn in the process of her march of expulsion to the roll of "dry drums." When she had found a refuge, her first course was to apply to Ernest Augustus for redress. The prince, however, was at once

oblivious, ungrateful, and powerless ; and confining himself to sending to the poor petitioner a paltry eleemosynary half-dozen of gold pieces, he forbade her return to Hanover, counselled her to settle elsewhere, and congratulated her that she had not received even rougher treatment.

Use, perhaps, would have quoted the Psalmist, who dissuades men from putting their trust in princes, but for the fact that she hoped, even yet, if not from a prince, to find succour from a princess. She accordingly made full statement of her case to the Duchess of Zell ; and that lady, deeming the case one of peculiar hardship, and the penalty inflicted on a giddy girl too unmeasured for the pardonable offence of amusing an old prince who encouraged her to the task, after much consideration, due weighing of the statement, and befitting inquiry, took the offender into her own service, and gave to the exiled Hanoverian a refuge, asylum, and employment in Zell.

These are but small politics, but they illustrate the nature of things as they then existed, in bygone days, at little German courts. They had, moreover, no small influence on the happiness of Sophia Dorothea. Madame von Platen was enraged that the mother of that princess should have dared to give a home to one whom she had condemned to be homeless : and she in consequence is suspected of having been fired with more satanic zeal to make desolate the home of the young wife. She adopted the most efficient means to arrive at such an end.

It was the period when Sophia Dorothea had just become the mother of a daughter who bore her name,

and who was subsequently queen-consort of Prussia. It was from this period that George Louis openly treated his wife with the contempt, and the evil genius by whom he was most influenced was Madame von Platen.

The first attempt to estrange him permanently from Sophia Dorothea was made through her sister, Madame von Busche. The latter lady, previous to her marriage with the tutor of George Louis, had endeavoured, with some slight success, to fascinate his pupil. She embraced with alacrity the mission with which she was charged, again to throw such meshes of fascination as she was possessed of around the heart of the not over susceptible prince. If endeavour could merit or achieve success, the attempt of this would-be charmer would have deserved, and would have accomplished, a triumph. But George Louis stolidly refused to be charmed, and Madame von Busche gave up the attempt in a sort of offended despair. Her sister, like a true genius, fertile in expedients, and prepared for every emergency, bethought herself of a simple circumstance, whereby she hoped to attain her ends. She remembered that George Louis, though short himself of stature, had a predilection for tall women. At the next fête at which he was present at the mansion of Madame von Platen, he was enchanted by a may-pole of a young lady, with a name almost as long as her person, — it was Ermengarda Melusina von Schu-lemberg.

She was more shrewd than witty, this "tall maw-kin," as the Electress Sophia once called the lofty Ermengarda ; and, as George Louis was neither witty

himself, nor much cared for wit in others, she was the better enabled to establish herself in the most worthless of hearts that ever beat beneath an embroidered vest. She was an inimitable flatterer, and in this way she fooled her victim to "the very top of his bent." She exquisitely cajoled him, and with exquisite carelessness did he surrender himself to be cajoled. Gradually, by watching his inclinations, anticipating his wishes, admiring even his coarseness, and lauding it as candour, she so won upon the lazily excited feelings of George Louis, that he began to think her presence indispensable to his well-being. If he hunted, she was in the field, the nearest to his saddle-bow. If he went out to walk alone, he invariably fell in with Ermengarda. At the court theatre, when he was present, the next conspicuous object was the towering Von Schulemberg, like Mlle. Georges, "in all her diamonds," beneath the glare of which, and the blazing impudence of their wearer, the modest Sophia Dorothea was almost extinguished. Doubly authorised would she have been, as she looked at her unworthy husband, to have exclaimed, as Alfieri afterward did in his autobiography :

"O picciola cosa é pur l'uomo."

It is said of the robe originally worn by the prophet Mahomet, and reverently preserved at Mecca, that it was annually washed in a tub of clear water, which was subsequently duly bottled off, and sent as holy water to the various princes of Islam. A fashion alleged to have been adopted by Madame von Platen is recalled to memory by this matter of the prophet's robe.

That estimable person had announced a festival, to be celebrated at her mansion, which was to surpass in splendour anything that had ever been witnessed by the existing generation. The occasion was the marriage of her sister, Madame von Busche, who had worried the poor ex-tutor of George Louis into the grave, with General Wreyke, a gallant soldier, equal, it would seem, to any feat of daring. Whenever Madame von Platen designed to appear with more than ordinary brilliancy in her own person, she was accustomed to indulge in the extravagant luxury of a milk bath ; and it was added by the satirical or the scandalous, that the milk which had just lent softness to her skin was charitably distributed among the poor of the district wherein she occasionally affected to play the character of Dorcas.

Be this fable or not — and very strange things were done in the old-fashioned circles of Germany in those days — the fête and the giver of it were not only to be of a splendour that had never been equalled, but George Louis had promised to grace it with his presence, and had even pledged himself, to “walk a measure” with the irresistible Ermen-garda Melusina von Schulemberg. Madame von Platen thought that her cup of joy and pride and revenge would be complete and full to the brim, if she could succeed in bringing Sophia Dorothea to the misery of witnessing a spectacle, the only true significance of which was that the faithless George Louis publicly acknowledged the gigantic Ermen-garda for his “favourite.”

More activity was employed to encompass the desired end than if the aim in view had been one of

good purpose. It so far succeeded that Sophia Dorothea intimated her intention of being present at the festival given by Madame von Platen; and when the latter lady received the desired and welcome intelligence, she was conscious of an enjoyment that seemed to her an antepast of Paradise.

The eventful night at length arrived. The bride had exchanged rings with the bridegroom, congratulations had been duly paid, and the floor was ready for the dancers, and nothing lacked but the presence of Sophia Dorothea. There walked the proudly eminent Von Schulemberg, looking blandly down upon George Louis, who held her by the hand; and there stood the impatient Von Platen, eager that the wife of that light-o'-love cavalier should arrive, and be crushed by the spectacle. Still she came not; and finally her lady of honour, the Countess von Knesebeck, arrived, not as her attendant but her representative, with excuses for the non-appearance of her mistress, whom indisposition (unfeigned indisposition to be a witness of a suspected sight) detained at her own hearth.

The course of the festival was no longer delayed; in it the bride and bridegroom were forgotten, and George and Ermengarda were the hero and heroine of the hour. After that hour, no one doubted as to the bad eminence achieved by that lady; and so narrowly and sharply observant was the lynx-eyed Von Knesebeck of all that passed between her mistress's husband and that husband's mistress, that when she returned to her duties of *dame d'atours*, she unfolded a narrative that inflicted a stab in every phrase, and tore the heart of the despairing listener.

But court life in Germany was at this, as also at an earlier and till a later period, one of unmixed extravagance and viciousness. A few of the social traits of such life will be found in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

COURT LIFE IN GERMANY — THE ELECTORATE OF HANOVER

Vienna, the Most Dissolute Capital in Europe — Extravagance and Profligacy of Augustus the Strong, afterward King of Poland — Fête in Honour of His Mistress, Maria Aurora Königsmark — The Alchemist, and His Fate — Gorgeous Wrecks of His Reign at Dresden — Count Brühl's Profligate Expenditure — The Court of Bavaria — The Sporting Propensities of the Electress Maria Amelia — Her Fondness for Dogs — Reception of George the First's Mistresses by the English Mob — Infamy of the German Ecclesiastical Princes — Expulsion of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin — His Matrimonial Adventures — His Apologist Leibnitz — Poverty of Prince Rupert at His Death, and Lottery for His Jewels — The House of Hanover Ranges Itself against France — Ernest Augustus Created Elector — Domestic Rebellion of His Son Maximilian — His Accomplice, Count Mölcke, Beheaded — The Electors of Germany.

THE extravagance of Madame von Platen, mentioned in the last chapter, was a reflex of that which made some of the sovereign courts of her day most sadly illustrious. Louis XIV. was not the only monarch guilty of impoverishing the people by living in a splendour which made his country bankrupt. The German courts needed not, and did not turn to France for a precedent of superb wickedness. The imperial household at Vienna was a high school, whereat the minor potentates of Germany might take degrees in extravagance and profligacy. Not less than forty

thousand individuals were attached to the service of that house, and the licentious habits and coarse tone of the majority of these servants of the emperor, from the noble to the lackey, not only had an ill effect upon contemporary society, but may be said to be felt even now in Vienna ; the most dissolute capital in Europe, where the aristocracy point in scorn to the citizens as abandoned to vice, and the citizens scowl at the aristocracy as the setters of bad example.

In the times of which I am treating, there was not the minutest count holding sovereignty over a few acres who did not maintain an ambassadorial establishment at Vienna, the expenses of which swallowed up a very considerable portion of the state represented. These legates of their lords, and often with their lords, and these lords' "ladies" in their company, were busily employed in the imperial city in the solemn occupations of feasting, drinking, dancing, gazing at fireworks, and other business which will less bear mentioning. Two hogsheads of Tokay wine were daily consumed for soaking the bread which was given to the imperial parrots ! The empress's nightly possets required twelve gallons of the same wine. Not that the imperial appetite was equal to such consumption, but that the kitchen supplied that quantity to the household generally ; for in the eighteenth century a German noble or his consort no more thought of going to sleep without the "sacramental" posset, than an English squire of the same period.

I have alluded in another page to the "protector" of the sister of Count Königsmark, Augustus the Strong, — strong in everything but virtue, and utterly

worthless as man or monarch in all besides. His reign, after he became King of Poland, was a long course of brutal excess in every shape, and in some cases outraging nature as much as was done in the brutal excesses of Caligula. He left behind him 352 children dependent on the state, but whose claims the state soon refused to recognise.

His extravagant taste exceeded even that of the masters of Vienna or Versailles. In honour of Maria Aurora Königsmark, the queen of the harem, and the only "favourite" of this crowned brute who ever retained in her bad eminence the refinement of character and conduct which had distinguished her before her elevation, — in honour of this "favourite" he gave a festival on the Elbe, at which Neptune appeared in a sea-shell (in very shallow water), surrounded by a fleet of frigates, gondolas, and gunboats, all of true model dimensions, and manned by crews who might have sung in chorus the song from "La Promise," "*ma veste, ma veste*," so gay, glorious, glittering, and unseamanlike were they, in their satin jackets, their silk stockings, and their paste-diamond shoe-buckles. Soldiers, or civilians in the masquerade of soldiers, of all nations under the sun, and all splendidly attired, lined the banks of the river. The festival lasted throughout a long day, and when night set in, a huge allegorical picture, occupying six thousand yards, nearly four miles of canvas, was illuminated by blazing piles of odoriferous woods. On that day was squandered, in honour of a royal concubine, as much wealth as would have fed and clothed all the hungry and destitute in Dresden for a whole year.

Nor was this a solitary instance of the profligate

extravagance of this monarch. On the occasion of a visit to his court by Frederick William of Prussia and the crown prince, he expended \$5,000 in porcelain vases for the adornment of their bedchambers, and gave them a gipsy party at Mühlberg, where the rural amusements of a few hours absorbed not less than three millions of dollars.

Augustus delighted in monster fêtes, with all sorts of monster appliances; and one of these gigantic festivals is spoken of, at which a cake was placed before the guests twenty-eight feet long by twelve broad, the sides of which were cut into by a gaudy official, armed with a silver axe. Into the lap of one of his favourites, Augustus poured no less a sum than twenty millions of dollars. The fortunate recipient was the Countess von Kosel. He spent the same sum in welcoming to his dominions the daughter of the Emperor Joseph I., newly espoused to his son. The festivities were "stupendous," in character, duration, and extravagance. He met the bride with a whole army at his back to give her welcome; and a host, nearly as large, of courtiers, players, minstrels, and dancers, all exerting themselves in their several capacities to win a smile of approbation from the lady, who looked in melancholy on the show.

She must have been weary of it before it was half over, for it dragged on, in gorgeous ponderosity, through a whole month. Day after day the festival was renewed, and there was more revelry in Dresden than there was in Babylon when Alexander entered it; and of much the same degree of uncleanness too. To crown the whole, Augustus and his court appeared

in the guise of heathen deities ; thus rivalling that Augustus of Rome and his friends, who sat down to the banquet in the likeness of the gods and goddesses of Olympus, — less dignified, indeed, than they, but twice as beastly.

His conduct might fairly be described as that of a maniac, were it not for one circumstance. He flung gold about with a reckless prodigality which betokened insanity, but it must be remembered that, at the very period of his doing so, he entertained the conviction that he was on the point of tearing the veil before the great arcanum of chemistry, mastering the knowledge connected with the transmutation of metals, and becoming the maker of gold, to an extent limited only by his necessities.

For this purpose he maintained an alchemist in his palace. The professional gentleman, so calling himself, was right royally lodged as regarded his person, and right profusely provided as respected his vocation. His apartments were furnished with a splendour which might have dazzled an emperor, and his laboratory was a glittering chaos of costly vessels, means, and appliances, — such as befitted the arch-deceiver of a king foolish enough to be deceived.

The experiments were being carried on while Augustus was as insanely experimenting on the patience of his people. The alchemist, however, soon encountered a swifter and more hideous ruin than ultimately fell upon the head of Augustus himself. His patron became impatient and more exacting than ever ; the magician more tricky, more boastful of success, and less satisfactory in realisation of his boasting. His specimens were pronounced

counterfeit, his gold was scornfully rejected by the goldsmiths of the capital, and, detected as a cheat, he was beheaded by the order of him who had hoped to profit by his address.

Dresden is yet strewn with the gorgeous wrecks of the profligate reign of Augustus. The "Green Vaults" of the palace, crowded as they are with gems and jewelry, and rich metals wrought into grotesque figures; the huge ostrich cups, the gigantic pearls, the musical clocks, and toys and trifles, for which a "king's ransom" was less than the purchase-money, should awake in the mind of the beholder not so much of admiration for the collection, as of disgust and amazement at the thoughtless extravagance of him who acquired it with the money entrusted to his dishonest stewardship. If the memory of Augustus the Strong can ever be dwelt upon with any measure of respect, it is perhaps when the visitor at Dresden contemplates the gallery of pictures there, of which he was the founder. In his profligate expenditure he had a worthy imitator in Count Brühl, the minister of his indolent son and successor, Augustus III. His wardrobe could have supplied half the great families in Europe with costumes; his collection of embroidered shoes was a sight for all Saxony; and his museum of Parisian wigs, arranged in chronological order, was the pride of all the *petit-maitres* who were curious in perukes. The court of Bavaria at the beginning of the last century set no better example to the people, on whose love and allegiance it made a claim which was but shabbily revered. The little and delicate electress, Maria Amelia, had the propensities of a

gigantic *roué*. She was delicate only in person, not in mind; but mind and body were similarly "little" in other respects. She was an excellent shot, followed the chase with the zest of the keenest sportsman, and would toil half the day, across ridge and furrow, or up to her knees in mud, in pursuit of the game, among which she made such deadly havoc. At these times, and often when the occasion was not warrant for the fashion, she appeared in public in male attire, generally of green cloth, her brilliant complexion heightened by a brilliantly powdered white peruke. She loved dogs as well as she did men, rather better perhaps, on the whole; and was never more pleased than when she dined in no better company than with a dozen of these canine favourites, whose unceremonious clearing of the dishes, before their hostess could help herself, only excited her hearty laughter.

There were occasions, however, on which she was given to anything rather than laughter, and chiefly when she encountered the favourites of her husband. On these she had no mercy; and her dog-whip was more than once applied to the shoulders of shameless rivals, — which had perhaps better have been applied to those of the unworthy husband, on whose smiles and hard gold they lived in splendid infamy.

Other German courts were marked and disgraced by scenes of similar profligacy; and that of Hanover forms no exception, although it ceased sooner than the others to be so distinguished. This desirable consummation was not a result of greater cleanliness of manner, but of a transportation of the uncleanness

to another locality ; and the court of Hanover no longer presented an evil example to the people, because at a later period George I., the unworthy husband of Sophia Dorothea, removed in 1714, "with all his mistresses," to this, the favoured country, which was hardly grateful for the acquisition.

The lack of gratitude was made manifest enough by the reply of "First Citizen," in a dramatic tumult in the street raised by the arrogance of these women. "Worthy folks !" said one of them, in broken English, "we come here for all your goods." "Yes !" roared "First Citizen," "and for all our chattels too," a remark not far from the truth ; for the mistresses of the first two Georges were supported out of the funds raised by taxation of the people. But we are anticipating events.

The ecclesiastical princes were not a jot behind their secular highnesses in glaring infamy of conduct. They scorned and outraged public opinion, as they did the laws against clerical luxury and immorality enacted by the Council of Trent. The debauchery and profligacy of the higher orders of the priesthood (mostly sons of princely families) were appalling. An instance of their unseemliness of conduct has been cited from Duclos's memoirs, wherein mention is made of a want of decency manifested by the Prince Archbishop of Cologne, when that electoral dignitary was sojourning at Versailles. He gave notice that he would preach in the Royal Chapel on the 1st of April, when a large and august auditory assembled to do honour to the occasion. The preacher, we are told, ascended the pulpit, and bowed gravely to the audience ; then shouting,

"April fools all!" he ran down the stairs amidst the laughter of the court, and the clang of horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums.

It was a strange time, when men were allowed to have their particular views, and women their peculiar faults, without much censure resulting, provided they respected certain limits. In this they were like the pagans, among whom a woman might swear for ever by Castor, and a man only by Hercules, while *Ædepol* was an execratory phrase common to both.

Among the instances of German social life in the higher classes at this period, may be cited the case of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who, driven out of his dukedom by the hatred of his oppressed subjects, took up his residence in Paris, about the year 1672. The duke had been married to a Protestant princess, of whom, growing weary, he divorced himself from her, for no other reason than that he had seen a Catholic princess who pleased him, for the moment, better than his own wife. He married this second lady, after first making public profession of his conversion to the Church of Rome. Not a very long period elapsed before he became more weary of the new love than he had ever been of the old. He was as tired of the faith, by accepting which he had gained the lady; and in an affected horror of having committed some terrible sin, he immediately set about procuring a divorce. It was no difficult matter; and no less a man, judge and philosopher than the great "*Leibnitz*," less influenced, it is said, by a desire to disarm his foe than by certain juristic sophistries, decided in favour of the divorce, in viola-

tion of all law, and to the ineffable disgust of all honest men.

But if princes and people were forgetful of duty, it was perhaps, in part at least, because their teachers, priests, and philosophers either failed to instruct them, or neglected to make example add double force to precept. There was no man in Hanover so honoured as this Leibnitz; but he was honoured more for his intellectual than his moral worth. There had been no more unreserved eulogist and flatterer of Louis XIV. than he, but at the bidding of Ernest Augustus, who had acquired reputation as patriot and general by the share he had taken in the war against France, Leibnitz attacked the *Grande Monarque* in a satirical pamphlet, entitled "The Most Christian Mars," in which he miserably succeeded in showing how wittily a clever man might argue against his own convictions.

The father-in-law of Sophia Dorothea deserves to have it said of him that, however immoral a man he may have been, he was a more honest man than Leibnitz. When Ernest Augustus was aspiring to the electorate, and the emperor was as desirous to form a united empire of amalgamated Catholics and Protestants, Leibnitz, to further the duke's purpose, wrote a pamphlet on the points of difference between the two churches, and on the principles which should form the basis and the bonds of a common religion and a common church. The Protestant philosopher preferred to publish this pamphlet anonymously, as the author of it so framed his arguments as to let his readers suppose that he was a Catholic. The duke refused to sanction this dis-

honesty, and the pamphlet was not published until after the author's death. It appeared as the "Theological System" of Leibnitz, and there was not an argument in it which was the result of that author's conviction. It was the boast of this philosopher, that he was *autodidactos*, — self-taught. As pupil, it must be confessed that he sometimes had but a very indifferent preceptor.

While on the subject of social traits of the period, I may not inaptly notice one in England. It has been already observed, that on the arrival of George Louis in England, to ask for the hand of the Princess Anne, he was indebted to his gouty and still fiery uncle, Rupert, for some attentions. In 1683, the gallant prince died too poor to leave wherewith to pay his debts! A plan was accordingly proposed, whereby the necessary sum was to be raised by the disposing of the prince's jewels by lottery. There had, however, been so much cheating practised in matters of this sort, that the public would take no shares in this particular and princely lottery, unless the king himself would guarantee that all should be conducted fairly and honestly, and also that Mr. Francis Child, the then eminent goldsmith and banker of Temple Bar, should be responsible for the "respection adventures;" that is, the genuineness of the tickets. This stipulation proposed by the public appears to have been accepted by the government, for in the *London Gazette* of October 1, 1683, appears an advertisement, which runs as follows: "These are to give notice, that the jewels of his late Royal Highness, Prince Rupert, have been particularly valued by Mr. Isaac Legouche, Mr. Christopher

Rosse, and Mr. Richard Beauvoir, jewellers, — the whole amounting to £20,000, and will be sold by way of lottery; each lot to be £5. The biggest prize will be a great pearl necklace, valued at £3,000, and none less than £100. A printed particular of each appraisement, with their divisions into lots, will be delivered gratis by Mr. Francis Child, of Temple Bar, London, into whose hands, such as are willing to be adventurers are desired to pay their money, on or before the first day of November next. As soon as the whole sum is paid in, a short day will be appointed (which, it is hoped, will be before Christmas), and notified in the *Gazette*, for the drawing thereof, which will be done in his Majesty's presence, who is pleased to declare that he himself will see all the prizes put in among the blanks, and that the whole will be managed with equity and fairness, nothing being intended but the sale of the said jewels at a moderate value. And it is further notified, for the satisfaction of all as shall be adventurers, that the said Mr. Child shall and will stand obliged to each of them for their several adventures; and that each adventurer shall receive their (*sic*) money back, if the said lottery be not drawn and finished before the first day of February next." At a later period, the *Gazette* announces that "the king will probably, to-morrow, in the Banqueting House, see all the blanks told over, that they may not exceed their number, and that the papers on which the prizes are to be written shall be rolled up in his presence, and that a child, appointed either by his Majesty or the adventurers, shall draw the prizes." If the king had never done worse than to preside at the drawing of a lottery for the payment

of the debts of his cousin, the uncle of George Louis, we might say that he was undignified, but not that he was, as he really was, ignoble and graceless ; more refined, perhaps, but not less debauched, than Augustus of Saxony.

But, to return finally to Hanover : while Sophia Dorothea was daily growing more unhappy, her father-in-law was growing more ambitious, and the prospects of her husband more brilliant. The younger branch of Brunswick was outstripping the elder in dignity, and not merely an electoral but a kingly crown seemed the prize they were destined to attain. A few brief paragraphs will serve to show how this was effected, before we once more take up the personal history of Sophia Dorothea.

Whatever opinion may be formed with respect to the opinions and feelings of the Hanover family in reference to its being recognised in the line of legal succession to the crown of England, it is pretty well ascertained that Burnet was the first, and probably not without being commissioned to the task, who seriously opened the subject with the family, and that through the Hanoverian minister at The Hague. Burnet, in 1686, was residing at the latter place, the friend and agent of William of Orange, and one of the most active adversaries of James II., whose aversion and perhaps dread of that busy ecclesiastic were not without foundation.

In the year 1686, the Hanoverian minister at The Hague was acting in strict obedience to the orders of his master, Ernest Augustus, by rather supporting than opposing the ambitious views of France. Louis XIV. had so degraded England as to make Charles

II. his pensionary, and the French monarch now looked upon James as his ally, ready to follow whithersoever the King of France was disposed to lead the way. The union of these two Roman Catholic monarchs, if carried out to the ends contemplated by them, threatened to overthrow both the religious and civil liberties of every country over which their influence could be made to extend. It was especially threatening to the princes of the Protestant faith, and particularly so to Holland. To destroy this union would be not only to rescue Holland from the perils which threatened her, but would, perhaps, open the throne of England to a Protestant prince. This prince could not be looked for in the line of Charles I., for the children of his daughter, the Duchess of Orléans, were Romanists; whereas, failing other branches of the family (the probable nature of which failure has already been adverted to), the line which might hope to inherit the crown was to be found in the immediate descendants of James I., through his daughter, Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, whose daughter Sophia was married to Ernest Augustus of Hanover.

When Burnet found the minister of the latter prince offending the States General of Holland by his tacit support of the views of France, he at once saw the false position of the minister who was acting in obedience to the instructions of his master, but in opposition to his own sentiments. It was no difficult task for Burnet to prove to this diplomatist that, by supporting the views of France, he was destroying the prospects of Hanover; whereas if it was his desire to promote the influence and glory, and to

elevate the fortunes of the latter house, his course was clear, simple, patriotic, and profitable. Opposition to France on the part of Hanover would be popularly acknowledged with something more than empty gratitude in England, and the time might come when such opposition would receive as splendid a recompense as prince or patriot could desire.

It is easy to believe that William approved of a communication of such a nature, made, as Burnet protests, without being otherwise than self-prompted thereto. The immediate result would be to secure an ally for Holland, and William might safely leave ulterior contingencies to Providence and time.

However this may be, it is certain that Burnet was eminently successful in his object with the Hanoverian minister. The latter appears not only to have communicated what passed to his sovereign, but to have added comments thereto which carried conviction to the mind of Ernest Augustus. This conviction is seen by the result which followed. Hanover, in 1688, ranged herself with the European coalition, that is, with England, Holland, and the German Empire, against France.

There was true "definite policy" in this act. Ernest Augustus was bound indeed to supply a contingent to the emperor whenever the latter might call for such aid in behalf of the empire; but he was not satisfied with this alone; his own territory was not threatened, and it was too far away from the stage whereon the great drama was being played, or was about to be played out, to give him fears concerning the inviolability of his frontier. He acted, however, as though he had as fierce a quarrel

with Louis as the more powerful belligerents opposed to that monarch. He recalled his minister from Paris, gave passports to the French ambassador at Hanover, and in short played his grand *coup* for an electorate now, and a throne in futurity.

To be elevated to the electorate had certainly been long the dearest among the more immediate objects of his ambition. When his elder brother John Frederick died childless, and left him the principalities of Calenberg and Grubenhagen, with Hanover for a "residenz," he hailed an increase of influence which he hoped to see heightened by securing the duchy of Zell also to his family. He had determined that George Louis should succeed to Hanover and Zell united. In other words, he established primogeniture, recognised his eldest son as heir to all his land, and only awarded to his other sons moderate appendages whereby to support a dignity which he considered sufficiently splendid by the glory which it would receive, by reflection, from the head of the house.

This arrangement by no means suited the views of one of Ernest's sons, Maximilian. He had no inclination whatever to borrow glory from the better fortune of his brother, and was resolved, if it might be, to achieve splendour by his own. He protested loudly against the accumulation of the family territorial estates upon the eldest heir; claimed his own share; and even raised a species of domestic rebellion against his sire, to which weight, without peril, was given by the adhesion of a couple of confederates, Count Mölcke, and a conspirator of burgher degree.

Ernest Augustus treated "Max" like a rude child. He put him under arrest in the paternal palace, and confined the filial rebel to the mild imprisonment of his own room. Maximilian was as obstinate as either Henry the Dog, or Marcus the Violent, and he not only opposed his sire's wishes with respect to the aggrandisement of the family by the enriching of the heir apparent, but went counter to him in matters of religion, and in after years was not only a good Jacobite, but he also conformed to the faith of the Stuarts, and Maximilian ultimately died, a tolerable Catholic, in the service of the emperor.

In the meanwhile, his domestic antagonism against his father was not productive of much inconvenience to himself. His arrest was soon raised, and he was restored to freedom, though not to favour or affection. It went harder, however, with his friend and confederate, Count Mölcke, against whom, as nothing could be proved, much was invented. An absurd story was coined to the effect that, at the time when Maximilian was opposing his father's projects, Count Mölcke, at a court entertainment, had presented his snuff-box to Ernest Augustus. That illustrious individual having taken therefrom the pungent tribute respectfully offered, presented the same to an Italian greyhound which lay at his feet, who thereon suddenly sneezed, and swiftly died. The count was sent into close arrest, and the courtly gossips forged the story to account for the result. The unfortunate Mölcke was indeed as severely punished as though he had been a murderer by anticipation. He was judged in something of the old Jedburgh fashion, whereby execution preceded judgment; and the head

of Count Mölcke had fallen before men could well guess why he had forfeited it. The fact was that this penalty had been exacted as a vicarious infliction on Prince Maximilian. In old-fashioned courts in England there used to be a whipping-boy who received castigation whenever the young princes of the royal family behaved ill. The latter, in the agony of the actual victim, were supposed to be able to understand what their own deserts were, and what their sufferings would have been, had not their persons been far too sacred to endure chastisement for their faults. The more ignoble plotter was only banished, and in the death of a friend, and the exile of a follower, Maximilian, it was hoped, would see a double suggestion from which he would draw a healthy conclusion. This course had its desired effect. The disinherited heir accepted his ill-fortune with a humour of the same quality, and, openly at least, he ceased to be a trouble to his more ambitious than affectionate father.

Domestic rebellion having been thus suppressed or got rid of, Ernest Augustus looked to the emperor for the reward of his ready alacrity in supporting the imperial house. It was not without much trouble and vexation that the desired end was achieved. The sacred college opposed the aim of the sovereign of Hanover, but the emperor, of his own accord, made Ernest Augustus an elector; and the 19th December, 1691, was the joyful day of nomination.

The day, however, was anything but one of joy to the branch of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. That elder branch felt itself dishonoured by the august dignity which had been conferred upon the younger

scion of the family. The hatred which ensued between the kinsmen was of that intensity which is said to distinguish the mutual hate of kinsmen above all others. The elder branch, and the sacred college with it, affirmed that the emperor was invested with no prerogative by which he could, of his own spontaneous act, add a ninth elector to the eight already existing. Originally there were but seven, and the accession of one more to that time-honoured number was pronounced to be an innovation by which ill fortune must ensue. Something still more deplorable was vaticinated as the terrible consequence of an illegal step so peremptorily taken by the emperor, in despite of the other electors.

It was said by the supporters of the emperor and Hanover that the addition of a ninth, and Protestant elector, was the more necessary; that there were only two electors on the sacred roll who now followed the faith of the Reformed Church; and that the sincerity of one, at least, of these was very questionable. The reformed states of Germany had a right to be properly represented, and the emperor was worthy of all praise for respecting this right. With regard to the nomination, it was stated that, though it had been made spontaneously by the emperor, it had been confirmed by the Electoral College, — a majority of the number of which had carried the election of the emperor's candidate.

Now, this last point was the weak point of the Hanoverians; for it was asserted by many adversaries, and not denied by many supporters, that in such a case as this, no vote of the Electoral College was good unless it were an unanimous vote. To

this objection, strongly urged by the elder branch of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, no answer was made, except, indeed, by praising the new elector, of whom it was correctly stated that he had introduced into his states such a taste for masquerades, operas, and ballets, as had never been known before; and that he had made a merry and a prosperous people of what had been previously but a dull nation, as regarded both manners and commerce. The emperor only thought of the good service which Ernest Augustus had rendered him in the field, and he stood by the "accomplished fact" of which he was the chief author.

The college was to the full as obstinate, and would not recognise any vote tendered by the Elector of Hanover, or of Brunswick, as he was at first called. Ernest Augustus sat in the college, as our Bishop of Sodor and Man is said to have done, in the olden time, in the House of Lords, where a seat was prepared for the prelate, which he was allowed to occupy on condition that he had no voice in the proceedings. For nearly sixteen years was this opposition carried on. At length, on the 30th of June, 1708, this affair of the ninth electorate was adjusted, and the three colleges of the empire resolved to admit the Elector of Hanover to sit and vote in the Electoral College. In the same month, he was made general of the imperial troops, then assembled in the vicinity of the Upper Rhine.

His original selection by the emperor had much reference to his military services. The efforts of Louis XIV. to get possession of the Palatinate, after the death of the Palatine Louis, had caused the

formation of the German confederacy to resist the aggression of France, — an aggression not finally overcome till the day when Marlborough defeated Tallard at Blenheim. Louis was hurried into the war by his minister Louvois, who was annoyed by his interference at home in matters connected with Louvois's department. It was to make the confederation more firm and united that Ernest Augustus was created, rather than elected, a ninth elector. The three Protestant electors were those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover; the three Catholic, Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Palatinate; and the three spiritual electors, the Prince Archbishops of Metz, Treves, and Cologne. The original number of electors was seven, and their office, according to Schiller, was to encircle the ruler of the world (the emperor) as the company of stars surround the sun :

“ Und alle die Wähler, die Sieben
Wie der Sterner Chor um die Sonne sich stellt,
Umstanden geschäftig die Herrscher der Welt,
Der Würde des Amtes zu üben.”

In the battle-field they stood with their colours round the imperial standard, “like Iris with all her seven.” Their efforts against France were not at first marked by success. Marshal Luxembourg routed the Dutch General Waldeck, and in 1691 Namur was carried by storm, and Liège bombarded. In the following year, William III. was defeated at Steinkirk, where the husband of Sophia Dorothea served under him, and learned how great a general may be under defeat, — for never was retreat conducted in more masterly style. The castle of Heidelberg, the birthplace of the Electress Sophia, was, at

the same period, blown into ruins by the French; and in 1697 the Peace of Ryswick humiliated the allies, and gave breathing time to the King of France to frame new projects, which were ultimately foiled by the triumphant sword of Marlborough. But this is anticipating.

The history of the creation of the ninth electorate would not be complete, without citing what is said in respect thereof by the author of a pamphlet suppressed by the Hanoverian government, and entitled "Impeachment of the Ministry of Count Munster." It is to this effect: "During the war between Leopold I. and France, at the close of the seventeenth century, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, and administrator of Osnaburgh, father of George I., had been paid a considerable sum of money on condition of aiding the French monarch with ten thousand troops. The emperor, aware of the engagement, and anxious to prevent the junction of these forces with the enemy, proposed to create a ninth electorate, in favour of the duke, provided he brought his levies to the imperial banner. The degrading offer was accepted, and the envoys of Brunswick-Lunebourg received the electoral cap, the symbol of their master's dishonour, at Vienna, on the 19th December, 1692. From the opposition of the college and princes, Ernest was never more than nominally an elector, and even his son's nomination was with difficulty accomplished in 1710. It was in connection with this new dignity that Hanover, a name till then applied only to a principal and almost independent city of the dukedom of Brunswick, became known in the list of European sovereignties."

CHAPTER VI.

THE KÖNIGSMARKS

Count Charles John Königsmark's Roving and Adventurous Life — The Great Heiress — An Intriguing Countess — "Tom of Ten Thousand" — The Murder of Lord John Thynne — The Fate of the Count's Accomplices — Court Influence Shelters the Guilty Count.

HAVING briefly traced the outline of the history regarding the elevation of the court of Hanover to the rank of an electoral court, I must beg permission for a short space more to be episodical, in order to trace the career of an individual whose residence at that court brought death, dishonour, and destruction in his train.

The circumstance of the sojourn of a Count Königsmark at Zell, during the childhood of Sophia Dorothea, has been before noticed. Originally the family of the Königsmarks was of the Mark of Brandenburg, but a chief of the family settled in Sweden, and the name carried lustre with it into more than one country. In the army, the cabinet, and the Church, the Königsmarks had representatives of whom they might be proud; and generals, statesmen, and prince-bishops, all labouring with glory in their respective departments, sustained the high

reputation of this once celebrated name. From the period, early in the seventeenth century, that the first Königsmark (Count John Christopher) withdrew from the imperial service and joined that of Sweden, the men of that house devoted themselves, almost exclusively, to the profession of arms. This Count John is especially famous as the subduer of Prague, in 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years' War. Of all the costly booty which he carried with him from that city, none has continued to be so well cared for, by the Swedes, as the silver book, containing the Mæso-Gothic Gospels of Bishop Ulphilas, still preserved with pride at learned Upsal.

John Christopher was the father of two sons. Otho William, a marshal of France, a valued friend of Charles XII., and a gallant servant of the state of Venice, whose government honoured his tomb with an inscription, *Semper Victori*, was the younger. He was pious as well as brave, and he enriched German literature with a collection of very fervid and spiritual hymns. The other, and the older, son was Conrad Christopher. The last name was almost as common an appellation in the family of Königsmark as those of Timoleon Cossé in the family of Brissac. Conrad Christopher was killed in the year 1673, when fighting on the Dutch and imperial side, at the siege of Bonn. He left four children, three of whom became at once famous and infamous. His sons were Charles John and Philip Christopher. His daughters were Maria Aurora (mother of the famous Maurice of Saxony) and Amelia Wilhelmina, who was fortunate enough to achieve happiness without being celebrated, and who, if she has not been

talked of beyond her own Swedish fireside, passed there a life of as calm felicity as she and her husband, Charles von Löwenhaupt, could enjoy when they had relations so celebrated, and so troublesome, as Counts Charles John and Philip Christopher, and the Countess Maria Aurora, the "favourite" of Augustus of Poland, and the only royal concubine, perhaps, who almost deserved as much respect as though she had won her greatness by a legitimate process.

It was this Philip Christopher who was for a brief season the playfellow of Sophia Dorothea, in the young days of both, in the quiet gardens and galleries of Zell. It is only told of him that, after his departure from Zell, he sojourned with various members of his family, travelled with them, and returned at intervals to reside with his mother, Maria Christina, of the German family of Wrangle, who unhappily survived long enough to be acquainted with the crimes as well as misfortunes of three of her children.

In the year 1682, Philip Christopher was in England. The elder brother, who had more than once been a visitor to this country, and a welcome, because a witty, one at the court of Charles II., had brought his younger brother hither, in order to have him instructed more completely in the tenets of the Protestant religion, and ultimately to place him at Oxford. In the meantime he placed him in a very singular locality for a theological student. He lodged him with a "governor," at the riding-academy, in the Haymarket, of that Major Foubert, whose second establishment (where he taught the young to witch the world with noble horsemanship)

is still commemorated by the passage out of Regent Street, which bears the name of the French Protestant refugee and professor of equestrianism.

The elder brother of these two Königsmarks was a superb scoundrel, and I have no more faith in his professed zeal for Philip Christopher's religion than he had in the truth which Philip was to be taught, after he had learned to 'ride. He had led a roving and adventurous life, and was in England when not more than fifteen years of age, in the year 1674. During the next half-dozen years he had rendered the ladies of the court of France ecstatic at his impudence, and had won golden opinions from the "marine knights" of Malta, whom he had accompanied on a "caravane," or cruise, against the Turks wherein he took hard blows cheerfully, and had well-nigh been drowned by his impetuous gallantry. At some of the courts of Southern Europe, he appeared with an *éclat* which made the men hate and envy him; but nowhere did he produce more effect than at Madrid, where he appeared at the period of the festivities held to celebrate the marriage of Charles II. with Maria Louisa of Orléans, daughter of that Henrietta Maria, who was the youngest child of our Charles I., born at Exeter, never beheld by her sire, and murdered, it is feared, by the connivance of her husband, the Duke of Orléans, as her daughter, this Maria Louisa, was by the negligence or connivance of her consort.

The marriage of the last named august pair was followed by the fiercest and the finest bull-fights, symbolic of Spanish royal unions, which had ever been witnessed in Spain. At one of these, Charles

John made himself the champion of a lady, fought in her honour in the arena with the wildest bull of the company, and got dreadfully mauled for his pains. His horse was slain, and he himself, staggering and faint, and blind with loss of blood, and with deep wounds, had finally only strength enough left to pass his sword into the neck of the other brute, his antagonist, and to be carried half-dead and quite senseless out of the arena, amid the fierce approbation of the gentle ladies, who purred applause, like satisfied tigresses, upon the unconscious hero.

In 1681, at the mature age of twenty-two, master of all manly vices, and ready for any adventure, he was once more in England, where he seized the opportunity afforded him by the times and their events, and hastened to join the expedition against Tangier. He behaved like a young hero, and, with his appetite for sanguinary adventure whetted by what he had tasted, on the conclusion of the warm affair at Tangier, he went as an amateur against the Algerines, and without commission inflicted on them and their "uncle" (as the word *dey* implies) as much injury as though he had been chartered general at the head of a destroying host. When he returned to England at the conclusion of this season of adventure, he was received, amid those who love adventurers, with a peculiar delight. That he was a foreign adventurer, then as now, only increased his attraction; and, from the king downward, "polite" people, as the aristocracy rudely styled itself with mendacious exclusiveness, received Count Charles John with enthusiasm. His handsome face, his long flaxen hair, his stupendous periwig for state occasions, and the

boy's ineffable impudence, made him the delight of the impudent people of those impudent times.

Now, of all those people, the supercilious Charles John cared but for one, and she, there is reason to believe, knew little and cared less for this presuming lad of the house of Königsmark.

All the wisdom and science of John Locke, the physician of the last of the Percys, could not save from death, at the age of twenty-six, Joscelyn, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, who died in the year 1670, the last of the male line of his house. He left an only daughter, four years of age, named Elizabeth. Her father's death made her the possessor — awaiting her majority — of vast wealth, to which increase was made by succession to other inheritances. Her widowed mother married Ralph Montague, English ambassador in Paris, builder of the "Montague" houses, which occupied successively the site of the present British Museum, and finally, husband, after the death of the widow of Percy, of the mad Duchess of Albemarle, who declared that she would never wed beneath royalty, and whom he wooed, won, and maintained as "Emperor of China."

When the widow of Joscelyn espoused Montague, her daughter Elizabeth went to reside with the mother of Joscelyn, — Dowager Countess of Northumberland, and co-heiress to the Suffolk estate, destined to be added to the possessions of the little Elizabeth. She was an intriguing, indelicate, self-willed, and worthless old woman; and with respect to the poor little girl of whom she was the unworthy guardian, she "made her the subject of constant

intrigues with men of power who wished for wealth, and with rich men who wished for rank and power." Before the unhappy little heiress had attained the age of thirteen, her grandmother had bound her in marriage with Henry Cavendish, Earl Ogle. Though the ceremony was performed, the parties did not, of course, reside together. The dowager countess and the earl were satisfied that the fortune of the heiress was secured, and they were further content to wait for what might follow.

That which followed was what they least expected, — death; the bridegroom died within a year of his union with Elizabeth Percy; and this child, wife, and widow was again at the disposal of her wretched grandmother. The heiress of countless thousands was anything but the mistress of herself.

At this period the proprietor of the house and domain of Longleat, in Wiltshire, was that Thomas Thynne, whom Dryden has celebrated as the Issachar of his "Absalom and Achitophel," who was the friend of the Duke of Monmouth, was alliteratively spoken of as "Tom of Ten Thousand," and who was a very unworthy fellow, although the member of a most worthy house. Tom's Ten Thousand virtues were of that metal which the Dowager Countess of Northumberland most approved; and her granddaughter had not been many months the widow of Lord Ogle, when her precious guardian united her by private marriage to Thynne. The newly married couple were at once separated. The marriage was the result of an infamous intrigue between infamous people, some of whom, subsequently to Thynne's death, sued his executors for money which he had

bound himself to pay for services rendered to further the marriage.

When Charles John Königsmark arrived in England, in January, 1682, all England was talking of the match wherein a poor child had been sold, although the purchaser had not yet possession of either his victim or her fortune. The common talk must have had deep influence on the count, who appears to have been impressed with the idea that if Thynne were dead, Count Charles John Königsmark might succeed to his place and expectations.

On the evening of Sunday, the 12th of February, 1682, Thynne was in his coach, from which the Duke of Monmouth had only just previously alighted, and was riding along that part of Pall Mall which abuts upon Cockspur Street, when the carriage was stopped by three men on horseback, one of whom discharged a carbine into it, whereby Tom of Ten Thousand was so desperately wounded that he died in a few hours.

The persons charged with this murder were chiefly discovered by means of individuals of ill repute with whom they associated. By such means were arrested a German, Captain Vratz, Borosky, a Pole, and a fellow, half knave, half enthusiast, described as Lieutenant Stern. Vratz had accompanied Königsmark to England. They lodged together, first in the Haymarket, next in Rupert Street, and finally in St. Martin's Lane. Borosky had been clothed and armed at the count's expense; and Stern was employed as a likely tool to help them in this enterprise. It was proved on the trial that, after the deed was committed, these men were at the count's lodgings, that a sudden separation took place, and that the count himself,

upon some sudden fear, took flight to the waterside ; there he lay hid for awhile, and then dodged about the river, in various disguises, in order to elude pursuit, until he finally landed at Gravesend, where he was pounced upon by two most expert thief-catchers, — cunning as Vidocq, determined as Townsend, and farsighted as Field.

The confession of the instruments, save Vratz, did not affect the count. His defence took a high Protestant turn, — made allusion to his Protestant ancestors, and their deeds in behalf of Protestantism, lauded Protestant England, alluded to his younger brother, brought expressly here to be educated in Protestant principles, and altogether was exceedingly clever, but in no wise convincing. It was a defence likely to do him good with a jury and people in mortal fear of popery, possessed by deadly hatred of a possible popish successor to the throne, and influenced by foolish affection for the Duke of Monmouth, who, being of no religion at all, was consequently no “papist,” and might hereafter become a good Protestant king, — just as his graceless father had been. It was, moreover, known that the king would learn with pleasure that the count had been acquitted ; and as this knowledge was possessed by judges who were removable at the king’s pleasure, it had a very strong influence ; and the arch-murderer, the most cowardly of the infamous company, was acquitted accordingly. In his case, the verdict, as regarded him, was given in last. The other three persons were indicted for the actual commission of the fact, Königsmark as accessory before the fact, hiring them, and instigating them to the crime. Thrice he had heard the

word "guilty" pronounced, and, despite his recklessness, was somewhat moved when the jury were asked as to their verdict respecting him. "Not guilty," murmured the foreman; and then the noble count, mindful only of himself, and forgetful of the three unhappy men whom he had dragged to death, exclaimed in his unmanly joy, "God bless the king, and this honourable bench!" He well knew where his gratitude was due — to a graceless monarch, and a servile judge. The meaner assassins were flung to the gallows. Vratz went to his fate, like Pierre; declared that the murder was the result of a mistake, that he had no hand in it, and that as he was a gentleman, God would assuredly deal with him as such!

This "gentleman," who looked for civil treatment hereafter, accounted for his presence at the murder as having arisen by his entertaining a quarrel with Mr. Thynne, whom he was about to challenge, when the Pole, mistaking his orders and inclinations, discharged his carbine into the carriage, and slew the occupant. The other two confessed to the murder, as the hired instruments of Vratz; but the latter (who could not have saved his own neck by implicating the count, his employer) kept his own secret as to him who had seduced him to this great sin, and, feeling that he was thus behaving as a "gentleman" of those days was expected to behave, quietly confided in the hope that he would be treated hereafter in gentlemanlike fashion, in return.

Count Philip Christopher gave brief evidence on this trial, simply to speak to his brother's having been engaged in the purchase of horses. As for Count Charles John, he felt for a moment that there

was a blot or speck upon the escutcheon of the Königsmarks. "Tut!" said he, after a little reflection: "it will all be wiped out by some dazzling action in war, or a lodging on a counterscarp!" So did this Protestant gentleman settle with his conscience. He proceeded to efface the little speck in question by repairing to the court of France, where he was received in that sort of gentlemanly fashion which Vratz looked for in Paradise.

His sword gleamed in many an action fought in various battle-fields of Europe during the next few years, in most of which he distinguished himself at the head of a French regiment, of which he was colonel. Finally, in 1686, he was in the service of the Venetians in the Morea. On the 29th of August he was before Argos, when a sortie was made by the garrison, and in the bloody struggle which ensued he was mortally wounded. He had done enough, he thought, to wipe out the speck which had for a season sullied the good name of Königsmark; and he was grateful to the last for the kind attentions paid to him by the "polite" society of England during the time of his little troubles. In short, this so-called Protestant gentleman, who was a popish colonel in the service of Louis XIV., did not appear to have the remotest idea of the balance likely to be struck against him by the recording angel. Like Vratz, perhaps, he considered that he was too much of a "gentleman" to have his little foibles set down against him in heaven's chancery.

They were not even recorded against him on Thynne's tomb in Westminster Abbey. A Latin inscription was prepared for the tomb, which more

than merely hinted that Königsmark was the murderer of Tom of Ten Thousand. "Small, servile Spratt," then Dean of Westminster, would not, however, allow the inscription to be set up: and his apologists, who advance in his behalf that he would have done wrong had he allowed a man, cleared by a jury from the charge of murder, to be permanently set down in hard record of marble as an assassin, have much reason in what they advance.

Before we trace the further outlines of the Königsmark annals, it were as well briefly to state what became of the youthful maid, wife, and widow, Lady Ogle. She remained at Amsterdam (whither she had gone, some persons said fled), after her marriage with Thynne, until the three of his murderers, who had been executed, had expiated their crime, as far as human justice was concerned, upon the scaffold. If her ladyship landed at Harwich, the most frequented port in those days for travellers arriving from or proceeding to Holland, she probably passed the body of one of the assassins, Stern, as she entered London by Mile End. However this may be, the young lady did not "appear public," as the phrase went, for six or seven weeks, and when she did so, it was found that she had just married Charles Seymour, third Duke of Somerset—a match which made one of two silly persons and a couple of colossal fortunes.

This red-haired lady met with rude ingratitude from the duke, and was designated by Swift as "your d—d Duchess of Somerset." He had reason to be angry, for when she was mistress of the robes to Queen Anne, she contrived to prevent his being raised to a bishopric; by which she did extremely

good service. She was the mother of a numerous family, and her third son married a granddaughter of the first Viscount Weymouth, — the cousin and heir of Tom of Ten Thousand. She died in the fifty-sixth year of her age, A. D. 1722 ; and the duke, then sixty-four, found speedy consolation for his loss in a marriage with the youthful Lady Charlotte Finch, who was at once his wife, nurse, and secretary. A very few persons of extreme old age are alive who saw her in their childhood, when she died, in the year 1773. It is said of her that she one day, in the course of conversation, tapped her husband familiarly on the shoulder with her fan ; whereupon that amiable gentleman indignantly cried out : “ Madam, my first wife was a Percy ; and she never took such a liberty ! ”

But it is time to revert to the Königsmark whose fate was so bound up with that of Sophia Dorothea. He left England with his brother, and did not pursue his researches after Protestantism at the feet of any reformed Gamaliel on the Continent. Like his brother, he led an adventurous and roving life, never betraying any symptom of the Christian spirit of the religion of the Church of England, of which he first tasted what little could be found in Major Foubert’s riding-school. A portion of his time was spent at Hamburg with his mother and two sisters. His renown was sufficient for a cavalier who loved to live splendidly ; and when he appeared at the court of Hanover, he was welcomed as cavaliers are who are so comfortably endowed.

CHAPTER VII.

KÖNIGSMARK AT COURT

Various Accomplishments of Count Philip Christopher Königsmark — The Early Companion of Sophia Dorothea — Her Friendship for Him — An Interesting Interview — Intrigues of Madame von Platen — Foiled in Her Machinations — A Dramatic Incident — The Unlucky Glove — Scandal against the Honour of the Princess — A Mistress Enraged on Discovery of Her Using Rouge — Indiscretion of the Princess — Her Visit to Zell — The Elector's Criminal Intimacy with Madame von Schulemburg — William the Norman's Brutality to His Wife — The Elder Aymon — Brutality of the Austrian Empress to "Madame Royale" — Return of Sophia, and Reception by Her Husband.

THE estimation in which Count Philip Christopher von Königsmark was held at the court of Hanover was soon manifested, by his elevation to the post of colonel of the guards. He was the handsomest colonel in the small electoral army, and passed for the richest. His way of life was warrant for the opinion entertained of his wealth, but more flimsy warrant could hardly have existed, for the depth of a purse is not to be discovered by the manner of life of him who owns it. He continued withal to enchant every one with whom he came in contact. The spendthrifts revered him, for he was royally extravagant; the few people of taste spoke of him encouragingly, for at an era when little taste was shown, he exhibited much both in his dress and his equipages. These

were splendid without being gaudy. The scholars even could speak with and of him without a sneer expressed or reserved, for Philip Christopher was intellectually endowed, had read more than most of the mere cavaliers of his day, and had a good memory, with an understanding whose digestive powers a philosopher might have envied. He was not less welcome to the soldier than the scholar, for he had had experience in "the tented field," and had earned in the "imminently deadly breach" much reputation, without having been himself, in the slightest degree, "illustriously maimed." Ballrooms reëchoed with the ringing eulogiums of his gracefulness, and his witty sayings are reported as having been in general circulation; but they have not been strong enough to travel by the rough paths of time down to these later days. He is praised, too, as having been satirical, without any samples of his satire having been offered for our opinion. He was daringly irreligious, for which freethinkers applauded him as a man of liberal sentiments, believing little, and fearing less. He was preëminently gay, which, in modern and honest English, means that he was terribly licentious; and such was the temper of the times, that probably he was as popular for this characteristic as for all the other qualities by which he was distinguished, put together. Those times must be more than ordinarily out of joint, when a man is more estimably accounted of for his great sins than for his sterling virtues.

There was nothing remarkable in the fact that he speedily attracted the notice of Sophia Dorothea. She may, without fault, have remembered with pleasure the companion of her youth; may have "wished

him well and no harm done," as Pierre says. He was not a mere stranger; and the two met, just as the husband of Sophia Dorothea had publicly insulted her by ostentatiously parading his attachment and his bad taste for women, no more to be compared with her in worth and virtue than Lais with Lucretia.

What follows much more nearly resembles romance than history, but it is without doubt substantially true, and in the details of the catastrophe wholly so. It is asserted, that the count had scarcely been made colonel of the guards when the Countess von Platen fixed upon him as the instrument by which she would ruin Sophia Dorothea, and relieve George Louis of a wife whose virtues were a continual reproach to him. The simplest and most innocent of circumstances appeared here the basis whereon to lay the first stone of her edifice of infamy.

The princess had been taking some exercise in the gardens of the palace, returning from which she met her little son, George Augustus, whom she took from the arms of his attendant, and with him in her arms began to ascend the stairs which led to her apartments. Her good-will was greater than her strength, and Count Königsmark happened to see her at the moment when she was exhibiting symptoms of weakness and irresolution, embarrassed by her burthen, and not knowing how to proceed with it. The count at once, with ready gallantry, not merely proffered, but gave his aid. He took the young prince from his mother, ascended the stairs, holding the future King of England in his arms, and at the door of the apartment of Sophia Dorothea again consigned him to maternal keeping. They tarried for a few brief

moments at the door, exchanging a few conventional terms of thanks and civility, when they were seen by the ubiquitous Von Platen, and out of this simple fact she gradually worked the subsequent terrible calamity which may be said to have slain both victims, for Sophia Dorothea was only for years slowly accomplishing death, which fell upon the cavalier so surely and so swiftly.

This incident was reported to Ernest Augustus with much exaggeration of detail, and liberal suggestion not warranted by the facts. The conduct of the princess was mildly censured as indiscretion, that of the count as disloyal impertinence; and, thereto, a mountain of comment seems to have been added, and a misty world of hints, which annoyed the duke without convincing him. If he had a conviction, it was that Von Platen was herself more zealous than discreet, and less discerning than either.

Foiled in her first attempt to ruin Sophia Dorothea, she addressed herself to the task of cementing strict friendship with the count; and he, a gallant cavalier, was nothing loath, nought suspecting. Of the terms of this friendly alliance little is known. They were only to be judged of by the conduct of the parties whom that alliance bound. A perfect understanding appeared to have been established between them; and the Countess von Platen was often heard to rally the count upon the love-passages in his life, and even upon his alleged well-known admiration of Sophia Dorothea. What was said jokingly, or was intended to seem as if said jokingly, was soon accepted by casual hearers as a sober, and a sad as sober, truth.

This first step having been made, no time was

lost in pursuing the object for which it had been accomplished. At one of those splendid masquerades, in which Ernest Augustus especially delighted, which he managed with consummate taste, and for which he gained as much reputation among the gay, as he had deservedly won for deeds of battle, from the brave, — at one of these gorgeous entertainments, given about the time of the duke's elevation to the electorate, Königsmark distinguished himself above all the other guests by the variety, as well as richness, of his costume, and by the sparkling talent with which he supported each assumed character. He excited a universal admiration, and in none, — so it was said by the Countess von Platen, — in none more than in Sophia Dorothea. This may have been true, and the poor princess may possibly have found some oblivion for her domestic trials in allowing herself to be amused with the exercise of the count's dramatic talent. She honestly complimented him on his ability, and on the advantages which the fête derived from his presence, his talent, and his good-nature. Out of this compliment, the countess forged another link of the chain, whereby she intended to bind the princess to a ruin from which she should not escape.

The next incident told is more dramatic of character, perhaps, than any of the others. The countess had engaged the count in conversation in a pavilion of the gardens in the electoral palace, when, making the approach of two gentlemen an excuse for retiring, they withdrew together. The gentlemen alluded to were George Louis and the Count von Platen; and these entering the pavilion which had just been vacated, the former picked up a glove which had

been dropped by the countess. The prince recognised it by the embroidery, and perhaps by a crest, or some mark impressed upon it, as being a glove belonging to his consort. He was musingly examining it, when a servant entered the place, professedly in search of a glove which the princess had lost. On some explanation ensuing, it was subsequently discovered that Madame Wreyke, the sister of the Countess von Platen, had succeeded in persuading Prince Maximilian to procure for her this glove, on pretext that she wished to copy the pattern of the embroidery upon it, and that the prince had thoughtlessly done so, leaving the glove of Madame Wreyke in its place. But this, which might have accounted for its appearance in the pavilion, was not known to George Louis, who would probably in such case have ceased to think more of the matter, but that he was obligingly informed that Count Königsmark had been before him in the pavilion where the glove was found,—been there, indeed, with the excellent Countess von Platen, who acknowledged the fact, adding, that no glove was on the ground when she was there, and that the one found could not have been hers, inasmuch as she never wore Netherland gloves, as the one in question was, but gloves altogether of different make and quality. Königsmark had been there, and the glove of the Princess Sophia Dorothea had been found there, and this excellent German specimen of Mrs. Candour knew nothing beyond.

This unlucky glove really effected as much perplexity, pain, and calamity as the handkerchief in "Othello." Thenceforth, George Louis was not merely rude and faithless to his wife, but cruel in

the extreme — the degrading blow, so it was alleged, following the harsh word. The Elector of Hanover was more just than his rash and worthless son: he disbelieved the insinuations made against his daughter-in-law, and was probably disgusted with the domestic trouble with which his electorship had been inaugurated. The electress was less reasonable, less merciful, less just, to her son's wife. She treated her with a coolness which interpreted a belief in the slander uttered against her; and when Sophia Dorothea expressed a wish to visit her mother, the electoral permission was given with an alacrity which testified to the pleasure with which the Electress of Hanover would witness the departure of Sophia Dorothea from her court.

Granting that the incidents were all as here related, the persons who were affected by them as damning evidence against the wife of "the electoral prince," as George Louis was now called, must have been singularly void of penetration, or even of common discernment. But some of them, if they lacked clearness of judgment, did not want for wickedness; and, in truth, it may be rather said, that their penetration was not at fault, but that their wickedness would not permit of its being exercised.

Sophia Dorothea had experience of this as soon as she descended at the gates of her father's residence. She found a mother there, indeed, ready to receive her with the arms of a mother's love, and to feel that the love was showered upon a daughter worthy of it. Not of like quality were the old duke's feelings. Communications had been made to him from Hanover, to the effect that his daughter was obstinate, dis-

obedient, disrespectful to the elector and electress, neglectful of her children, and faithless in heart, if not in fact, to their father. The Duke of Zell had been, as he thought, slow to believe the charges brought against his child's good name, and had applied to the elector for some further explanation. But poor Ernest Augustus was just then perplexed by another domestic quarrel. His son, the ever troublesome Prince Maximilian, having long entertained a suspicion that the Countess von Platen's denial of the light offence laid to her charge, of wearing rouge, was also a playful denial, mischievously proved the fact one day, by not very gallantly "flicking" (a good German word, as explaining the consequence of what he did) from his finger a little water in which peas had been boiled, and which was then a popularly mischievous test to try the presence of rouge, as, if the latter were there, the pea-water left an indelible fleck or stain upon it. At this indignity, the Countess von Platen was the more enraged, as her denial had been disproved. She rushed to the feet of the elector, and told her complaint with an energy as if the whole state were in peril. The elector listened, threatened Prince Maximilian with arrest, and wished his family were as easy to govern as his electoral dominions. He had scarcely relieved himself of this particular source of trouble, by binding Prince Maximilian to his good behaviour, when he was applied to by the Duke of Zell on the subject of his daughter. He angrily referred the duke to three of his ministers, who, he said, were acquainted with the facts. Now these ministers were the men who had expressly distorted them.

These worthy persons, if report may be trusted, performed their wicked office, with as wicked an alacrity. However the result was reached, its existence cannot be denied, and its consequences were fatal to Sophia Dorothea. The Electress Sophia is said to have so thoroughly hated her daughter-in-law as to have entered partly into these misrepresentations, which acquired for her the temporary wrath of her father. But of this enmity of her mothers-in-law, the younger Sophia does not appear to have suspected anything. She possessed not those means of discovering the treachery of such a relative, which, according to Plutarch, were to be procured by the nations of old. The icy-cold plant called the Phryxa, which grew on the banks of the Tanais, was popularly said to be the guardian angel of those who feared the machinations of step-dames and mothers-in-law. If one of the latter were plotting against the peace of her kindred by marriage, the plant set itself on fire and shot forth a bright flame upon being looked at by the intended victim. On the other hand, the name of a step-dame or mother-in-law breathed over the white violet which grew on the banks of the river Lycormas, caused the flower instantly to wither away,—such antipathy did it bear to the persons holding in families the rank and position above named.

Sophia Dorothea had no means of applying the first test, nor would she, even if the application had resulted in the discovery of her mother-in-law's treachery, have had recourse, could she have done so, to the test. She was too gentle of nature, and she bore her father's temporary aversion with a wondering

patience, satisfied that "time and the hour" would at length do her justice.

The duke's prejudice, however, was rather stubborn of character, and he was guilty of many absurdities to show, as he thought, that his obstinacy of ill-merited feeling against his own child was not ill-founded. He refused to listen to her own statement of her wrongs, in order to show how he guarded himself against being unduly biassed: a proceeding which as much ran counter against profession, as that of the old clergy of the Established Church of Scotland, who had a horror of theatrical entertainments, but who, nevertheless, made a point of going to the play in Lent, that they might manifest their contempt for what they considered a remnant of popery!

The mother of the princess remained, however, and naturally so, her firmest friend and truest champion. If misrepresentations had shaken her confidence for a moment, it was only for a moment. She knew the disposition of Sophia Dorothea too well to lend credit to false representations which depicted her as a wife, compared with whom Petruchio's Katherine would have been the gentlest of Griseldas. As little did she believe, — and to the expression of her disbelief she gave much indignant force of phrase, — as little did she believe in the suggestions, rather than assertions, of the ministers of the elector, that the familiar terms which, as they alleged, existed between the electoral princess and Count Königs-mark, were such as did foul wrong to her husband, George Louis. Those terms were not more familiar than those which existed between the electress her-

self and her favourite, Leibnitz; but the electress was neither fair nor young, and Leibnitz was of neither a seductive look nor age. The judges of morality at once jumped to the conclusion that youth and good looks were incompatible with propriety of conduct.

The worst that could have been alleged against Sophia Dorothea at this period was, that some letters had passed between her and Count Königsmark, and that the latter had once or twice had private audience of the electoral princess. Whatever may be thought of such things here in England, and the present age, they have never been accounted of in Germany but as commonplace circumstances, involving neither blame nor injury. A correspondence between two persons, of the respective ranks of the electoral princess and the count, was not an uncommon occurrence, — save that it was not often that two such persons had either the taste or capacity to maintain such intercourse. As to an occasional interview, such a favour, granted by ladies of rank to clever conversational men, was as common an event as any throughout the empire; and as harmless as the interviews of Leonora and that very selfish personage, the poet Tasso. The simple fact appears to have been, that, out of a very small imprudence, — if imprudence it may be called, — the enemies of Sophia Dorothea contrived to rear a structure which should threaten her with ruin. Her exemplary husband, who affected to hold himself wronged by the alleged course adopted by his consort, had abandoned her, in the worst sense of that word. He had never, in absence, made her hours glad by letters, whose every word is

dew to a soul athirst for assurances of even simple esteem. In his own household his conversation was seldom or never addressed to his wife; and, when it was, never to enlighten, raise, or cheer her. She may have conversed and corresponded with Königs-mark, but no society then construed such conversation and correspondence as crimes; and even had they approached in this case to a limit which would have merited stern censure, the last man who should have stooped to pick up a stone to cast at the reputation of his consort was that George Louis, whose affected indignation was expressed from a couch with Mlle. von Schulemberg at his side, and their very old-fashioned (as to look, but not less illegitimate as to fact) baby, playing, in much unconsciousness of her future distinction, between them.

It was because Sophia Dorothea had not been altogether tamely silent touching her own wrongs, that she had found enemies trumpet-tongued publishing a forged record of her transgressions. When Count Mölcke had become implicated in the little domestic rebellion of Prince Maximilian, some intimation was conveyed to him, that, if he would contrive, in his defence, to mingle the name of Sophia Dorothea in the details of the trumpety conspiracy, so as to attach suspicion to such name, his own acquittal would be secured. The count was a gallant man, refused to injure an unoffending lady, and was beheaded; as though he had conspired to overthrow a state, instead of having tried to help a discontented heir in the disputed settlement of some family accounts.

The contempt of Sophia Dorothea, on discovering

to what lengths the intimacy of George Louis and Ermengarde von Schulemberg had gone, found bitter and eloquent expression. Where an angry contest was to be maintained, George Louis could be eloquent too; and in these domestic quarrels, not only is he said to have been as coarse as any of his own grooms, but even, on one occasion, to have proceeded to blows. His hand was on her throat, and the wife and mother of a King of England would have been strangled by her exasperated lord, had it not been for the intervention of the courtiers, who rushed in, and, presumably, prevented murder. To such a story wide currency was given, and if not exact to the letter, neither can it be said to be without foundation. As little can it be said to be without precedent.

William the Norman was a mirror of knighthood, and he is known to have knocked down the gentle Matilda of Flanders, even in the days of their courtship. The blow did not put a stop to their wooing, nor did it delay a merry wedding, which one would think could hardly have been merry under such auspices. Then there was that paragon of chivalry, the elder Aymon, sire of the "*Quatre fils Aymon*" of the romantic legend: that gallant gentleman was not only accustomed to maltreat his lady wife by thumping her into insensibility, but when his eldest son, Reinold, once ventured to comment upon one of those pleasant little domestic scenes, to the effect that they interrupted conviviality, and that his respected sire should either chastise the speaker's mother more gently or elsewhere, the knightly father was so enraged at this approach to interference on

the part of a son, in behalf of a mother who was lying senseless at his feet, that, taking him with one hand by the hair, he beat his face with the other and mailed hand, into that pulpy consistency which, Professor Whewell says, possibly distinguishes the interesting inhabitants of the wide and desolate plane of the planet Jupiter. From this contest, however, the old knight came out as little recognisable in human features as his son, so chivalrously had they mauled each other. So much for precedent.

The example has been followed in Germany since the days of George Louis. Louis XVIII. informs us in his memoirs, that when the daughter of Louis XVI. found a refuge at Vienna, after her liberation from the Temple, she was urged by the empress to consent to a marriage with one of the imperial archdukes, and that the empress became at last so enraged by the firm and repeated refusals of "Madame Royale" to acquiesce in the proposal, that on one occasion her Imperial Majesty seized the royal orphan by the arm, and descended to "*voies de fait*," in other words, visited the young and destitute princess with a shower of hard blows.

The ill-treatment of George Louis drove Sophia Dorothea to Zell, and the wrath of her husband and the intrigues of Von Platen made of that residence anything but a refuge. The duke refused to give permission to his daughter to remain longer in his palace than was consistent with the limit of an ordinary visit. She petitioned most urgently, and her mother seconded her prayer with energy as warm, that for the present she might make of Zell a temporary home. Her angry father would not

listen to the request of either petitioner; on the contrary, he intimated to his daughter that, if she did not return to Hanover by a stated period, she would be permanently separated from her children. On the expression of this threat she ceased to press for leave to remain longer absent from Hanover; and when the day named for her departure arrived, she set out once more for the scene of her old miseries, anticipation of misery yet greater in her heart, and with nothing to strengthen her but a mother's love, and to guide her but a mother's counsel. Neither was able to save her from the ruin under which she was so soon overwhelmed.

Her return had been duly announced to the court of Hanover, and so much show of outward respect was vouchsafed to her as consisted in a portion of the electoral family repairing to the country residence of Herrnhausen to meet her on her way, and accompany her to the capital. Of this attention, however, she was unaware, and she passed Herrnhausen at as much speed as could then be shown by electoral post-horses. It is said that her first intention was to have stopped at the country mansion, where the electoral party was waiting to do her honour; that she was aware of the latter fact, but that she hurried on her way for the reason that she saw the Countess von Platen seated at one of the windows looking on to the road, and that, rather than encounter her, she offended nearly a whole family, who were more nice touching matters of etiquette than they were touching matters of morality. The members of this family, in waiting to receive a young lady, against whom they considered that they were not without grounds

of complaint, were lost in a sense of horror which was farcical, and of indignation at violated proprieties, which must have been as comical to look at, as it no doubt was intense. The farcical nature of the scene is to be found in the fact, that these good people, by piling their agony beyond measure, made it ridiculous. There was no warrant for their horror, no cause for their indignation; and when they all returned to Hanover, following on the track of a young princess whose contempt of ceremony tended to give them strange suspicions as to whether she possessed any remnant of virtue at all, these very serene princes and princesses were as supremely ridiculous as any of the smaller people worshipping ceremony in that never-to-be-forgotten city of Kotzebue's painting, called Krähwinkel.

When Sophia Dorothea passed by Herrnhausen, regardless of the company who awaited her there, she left the persons of a complicated drama standing in utter amazement on one of the prettiest of theatres. Herrnhausen, the "master's mansion," was a name given to trim gardens, as well as to the edifice surrounded by them. At the period of which we are treating, the grounds were a scene of delight; the fountains tasteful, the basins large, and the water abundant. The maze, or wilderness, was the wonder of Germany, and the orangery the pride of Europe. There was also, what may still be seen in some of the pleasure-grounds of German princes, a perfectly rustic theatre, complete in itself, with but little help from any hand but that of nature. The seats were cut out of the turf, the verdure resembled green velvet, and the chances of rheumatism must have

been many. There was no roof but the sky, and the dressing-rooms of the actors were lofty bowers constructed near the stage; the whole was adorned with a profusion of gilded statues, and kept continually damp by an incessant play of spray-scattering water-works. The *grand tableau* of rage in this locality, as Sophia Dorothea passed unheedingly by, must have been a spectacle worth the contemplating.



Sophia Dorothea, Consort of George I.

Photograph from a rare print

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Sophia Dorothea, Consort of George I.

Photogravure from a rare print



CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATASTROPHE

The Scheming Mother Foiled — Count Königsmark Too Garrulous in His Cups — An Eavesdropper — A Forged Note — A Mistress's Revenge — Murder of the Count — The Countess Aurora Königsmark's Account of Her Brother's Intimacy with the Princess — Horror of the Princess on Hearing of the Count's Death — Seizure and Escape of Mile. von Knesebeck — A Divorce Mooted — The Princess's Declaration of Her Innocence — Decision of the Consistorial Court — The Sages of the Law Foiled by the Princess — Condemned to Captivity in the Castle of Ahlden — Decision Procured by Bribery — Bribery Universal in England — The Countess Aurora Königsmark Becomes the Mistress of Augustus, King of Poland — Her Unsuccessful Mission to Charles XII. — Exemplary Conduct in Her Latter Years — Becomes Prioress of the Nunnery of Quedlinburg.

WITH the return of Sophia Dorothea to Hanover, her enemies appear to have commenced more actively their operations against her. George Louis was languidly amusing himself with Ermengarde von Schu-lemberg and their little daughter Petronilla Melusina. The Countess von Platen was in a state of irritability at the presence of Sophia Dorothea, and the absence of Königsmark. The last-mentioned person had, in his wide-spread adoration, offered a portion of his homage to both the countess and her daughter. The elder lady, while accepting as much of the incense

for herself as was safe to inhale, endeavoured to secure the count as a husband for her daughter. Her failure only increased her bitterness against the count, and by no means lent less asperity to the sentiment with which she viewed Sophia Dorothea. She was, no doubt, the chief cause, primarily and approximate, of the ruin which fell upon both.

It was not merely the absence of Königsmark, who was on a visit to the riotous court of Augustus of Saxony, which had scared her spirit; the reports which were made to her of his conversation there gave fierceness to her resentment, and called into existence that desire of bloody vengeance which she accomplished, but without profiting by the wickedness.

There was no more welcome guest at Dresden than Königsmark. An individual so gallant of bearing, handsome of feature, easy of principle, and lively of speech, was sure to be warmly welcomed at that dissolute court. He played deeply, and whatever sums he might lose, he never lost his temper. He drank as deeply as he played; not quite so deeply, perhaps, as the old Emperor Maximilian, or as the older Persians, who could boast, when they had nothing else left to boast of, that they could drink more than any other men without being overpowered by their liquor. But Königsmark was inferior to both the Persians of old, and to the more modern toper Maximilian in discretion under wine. He then became as loquacious as Cassio, but more given to slander. He was then as prodigal, too, of flattery. No man was more open to the double peril named by Doctor South, when he said,

that "as by flattery a man opens his bosom to his mortal enemy, so, by detraction and slander, he shuts the same to his best friends." It was not that he had that secret propensity of the mind to think ill of all men, which is followed by the utterance of such sentiments in ill-natured expressions, the which, according to Theophrastus, constitutes slander. He spoke ill of others out of mere thoughtlessness, or at times out of mere vanity. He possessed not what Swift calls the "lower prudence" of discretion. "Vanity," says Jeremy Collier, "is a strong temptation to lying;" and in detailing its characteristics and consequences, he names, among others, that it "makes men tell strange stories of their interest and acquaintance." Königsmark in some degree illustrated these remarks; and his vanity, and the stories to which it prompted him, seemed to amuse and interest the idle and scandalous court where he was so welcome a guest.

He kept the illustriously wicked company there in an uninterrupted ecstasy by the tales he told, and the point he gave to them, of the chief personages of the court of Hanover. He retailed anecdotes of the elector and his son, George Louis, and warmly tinted stories of the shameless mistresses of that exemplary parent, and no less exemplary child. He did not spare even the Electress Sophia; but she was, after all, too respectable for Königsmark to be able to make of her a subject of ridicule. This subject he found in ladies of smaller virtue and less merit generally. Touching them his anecdotes were of a quality to suit a "*Chronique Scandaleuse*," to delight Brantôme, and to have made the very ghost

of Boccaccio smile. But every word he uttered, in sarcastic description of the life, character, and behaviour of the favourites of the Elector of Hanover and his son, found its way, with no loss of pungency on the road, to the ears of those persons whom the report was most likely to offend. His warm advocacy of Sophia Dorothea, expressed at the table of Augustus of Saxony, was only an additional offence; and George Louis was taught to think that Count Königsmark had no right to ask, with Pierre, "May not a man wish his friend's wife well, and no harm done?"

The count returned to Hanover soon after Sophia Dorothea had arrived there, subsequent to her painful visit to the little court of her ducal parents at Zell. In this connection of circumstances there was nothing prearranged; and no one could be more surprised probably than the count himself, when, shortly after his resuming his duties as colonel of the electoral guard, he received a note from the princess, written in pencil, and expressing a wish to see him in her chamber.

The note was a forged document, — as confessed by the Countess von Platen, when confession came too late for the repair of evil which could not be undone. Nevertheless, the count, on presenting himself to Mlle. Knesebeck, the lady of honour to the princess, was admitted to the presence of the latter. This indiscreet step was productive of terrible consequences to all the three who were present. The count, on being asked to explain the reason of his seeking an interview with the princess, at an advanced hour of the evening, produced the

note of invitation, which Sophia Dorothea at once pronounced to be a forgery. Had they then separated, little of ill consequence might have followed. The most discreet of the three, and the most perplexed at the "situation," was the lady of honour. The memoirs which bear her name, and which describe this scene, present to us a woman of some weakness, yet one not wanting in discernment. In proof of the latter, it may be stated that, as she had long previously suspected the count to be a worthless libertine, so on this night suspicion was followed by conviction.

Sophia Dorothea, it would seem, could dwell upon no subject but that of her domestic troubles, the cruel neglect of her husband, and her desire to find somewhere the refuge from persecution which had been denied to her in her old home at Zell. More dangerous topics could not have been treated by two such persons. The count, it is affirmed, ventured to suggest that Paris would afford her such a refuge, and that he should be but too happy to be permitted to give her such protection as she could derive from his escort thither. This was probably rather hinted than suggested; but however that may be, only one course should have followed even a distant hint leading to so unwarrantable an end. The interview should have been brought to a close. It was still continued, nevertheless, to the annoyance, if not scandal, of the faithful Knesebeck; whose fears may have received some little solace on hearing her mistress express a desire to find at least a temporary home at the court of her cousin, Duke Anthony Ulric of Wolfenbüttel.

While this discussion was proceeding, the Countess von Platen was by no means idle. She had watched the count to the bower into which she had sent him by the employment of a false lure, and she thereupon hastened to the elector to communicate what she termed her discovery. Ernest Augustus, albeit waxing old, was by no means infirm of judgment. If Königsmark was then in the chamber of his daughter-in-law, he refused to see in the fact anything more serious than its own impropriety. That, however, was crime enough to warrant the arrest which the countess solicited. The old elector yielded to all she asked, except credence of her assurance that Sophia Dorothea must be as guilty as Königsmark was presuming. He would consent to nothing further, than the arrest of him who was guilty of the presumption; and the method of this arrest he left to the conduct of the countess, who urgently solicited it as a favour, and with solicitation of such earnestness that the old elector affected to be jealous of the interest she took in such a case, and added playfully the expression of his opinion, that, angry as she seemed to be with the count, he was too handsome a man to be likely to meet with ill-treatment at her hands.

Armed with this permission, she proceeded to the body of soldiers or watch for the night, and exhibiting her written warrant for what she demanded, requested that a guard might be given to her, for a purpose which she would explain to them. Some four or five men of this household body were told off, and these were conducted by her to a large apartment, called the Hall of Knights, through which

Königsmark must pass, if he had not yet quitted the princess's chamber.

They were then informed that their office was to arrest a criminal, whose person was described to them, of whose safe custody the elector was so desirous that he would rather that such criminal should be slain than that he should escape. They were accordingly instructed to use their weapons if he should resist; and as their courage had been heightened by the double bribe of much wine and a shower of gold pieces, they expressed their willingness to execute her bidding, and only too well showed by their subsequent act the sincerity of their expression.

At length Königsmark appeared, coming from the princess's apartment. It was now midnight. He entered the Ritters' Hall, as unsuspecting of the fate before him as the great Guise was of his destiny when he crossed the vast and dark apartment in the Castle of Blois, and was butchered, ere he reached an opposite door to that through which he entered, by the hired assassins of Henri III.

The elector, had he cared much for the honour of his daughter-in-law, would have investigated the case himself. The husband of Sophia Dorothea might have been summoned to look to his own honour, and the peril in which it is said to have stood that night; but it is remarkable that at this very time he was absent on a visit to Berlin, where his sister, the Electress of Brandenburg, is said to have almost called a blush upon his cheek by her portraiture of his conduct, and a detail of the wrongs by which he had inflicted vast misery upon his wife. In the absence of these

two competent authorities, the Electress of Hanover troubling herself little with any affairs less weighty than politics, philosophy, and worsted work, the Countess von Platen was sovereign, for the time being, over the small circle of Hanover, of which she was the centre—and the sovereign of the hour wielded her might with a prompt and most terrific energy.

In the Ritters' Hall was a huge, square, ponderous stove, looking like a mausoleum, silent and cold. It reached from floor to roof, and hidden by one of its sides, the guard awaited the coming of the count. He approached the spot, passed it, was seized from behind, and immediately drew his sword to defend himself from attack. His enemies gave him but scant opportunity to assail them in his own defence, and after a few wild passes with his weapon, he was struck down by the spear, or old-fashioned battle-axe, of one of the guards, and when he fell, there were three wounds in him out of any one of which life might find passage.

On feeling himself grow faint, he—and in this case, like a thoroughly true and gallant man—thought of the lady and her reputation. The last words he uttered were, "Spare the innocent princess!" soon after which he expired; but not before, as is reported by those who love to dwell minutely on subjects of horror, not before the Countess von Platen had set her foot triumphantly upon his bloody face.

Such is the German detail of this assassination. It is added, that it gave extreme annoyance to the elector, to whom it was immediately communicated;

that the body was forthwith consigned to a secure resting-place, and covered with quicklime ; and that the whole bloody drama was enacted without any one being aware of what was going on, save the actors themselves.

In Cramer's "Memoirs of the Countess of Königs-mark," the fate of the count is told upon the alleged evidence of a so-called eye-witness. It differs in several respects from other accounts, but is clear and simple in its details, — though it is not to be accepted as authentic, simply on that account. It is to the following effect :

"Bernhard Zayer, a native of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, a wax-image maker, and artist in lacquer-work, was engaged by the electoral princess to teach her his art. Being, on this account, continually in the princess's apartment, he has frequently seen Count Königsmark there, who looked on while the princess worked. He once learned in confidence, from the electoral princess's groom of the chambers, that the electoral prince was displeased about the count, and had sworn to break his neck, which Bernhard revealed to the princess, who answered : 'Let them attack Königsmark : he knows how to defend himself.' Some time afterward there was an opera, but the princess was unwell and kept her bed. The opera began, and as the count was absent as well as the princess, first a page, and then the hoff-fourier were sent out for intelligence. The hoff-fourier came back running, and whispered to the electoral prince, and then to his Highness the elector. But the electoral prince went away from the opera with the hoff-fourier. Now Bernhard saw all this, and knew what

it meant, and as he knew the count was with the princess, he left the opera secretly, to warn her; and as he went in at the door, the other door was opened, and two masked persons rushed in, one exclaiming, 'So! then I find you!' The count, who was sitting on the bed, with his back to the door by which the two entered, started up, and whipped out his sword, saying, 'Who can say anything unbecoming of me?' The princess, clasping her hands, said, 'I, a princess, am I not allowed to converse with a gentleman?' But the masks, without listening to reason, slashed and stabbed away at the count. But he pressed so upon both, that the electoral prince unmasked, and begged for his life, while the hof-fourier came behind the count, and run him through between the ribs with his sabre, so that he fell, saying, 'You are murderers, before God and man, who do me wrong!' But they both of them gave him more wounds, so that he lay as dead. Bernhard, seeing all this, hid himself behind the door of the other room."

Bernhard was subsequently sent by the princess to spy out what they would do with Königsmark.

"When the count was in the vault, he came a little to himself, and spoke: 'You take a guiltless man's life. On that I'll die, but do not let me perish like a dog, in my blood and my sins. Grant me a priest, for my soul's sake.' Then the electoral prince went out, and the fourier remained alone with him. Then was a strange parson fetched, and a strange executioner, and the fourier fetched a great chair. And when the count had confessed, he was so weak that three or four of them lifted him into the chair;

and there in the prince's presence was his head laid at his feet. And they had tools with them, and they dug a hole in the right corner of the vault, and there they laid him, and there he must be to be found. When all was over, this Bernhard slipped away from the castle; and indeed Counsellor Lucius, who was a friend of the princess's, sent him some of his livery to save him; for they sought him in all corners, because they had seen him in the room during the affray. . . . And what Bernhard Zayer saw in the vault, he saw through a crack."

Clear as this narrative is in its details, it is contradictory in some of them, and yet it probably rests on some basis of truth.

The Countess Aurora of Königsmark has left a statement of her brother's connection with the princess, in which the innocence of the latter is maintained, but his imprudence acknowledged. The statement referred to, explains the guilty nature of the intercourse kept up between Königsmark and the Countess von Platen. It is written in terms of extreme indelicacy. We may add that the faithful Von Knesebeck, on whose character no one ever cast an imputation, in her examination before the judges, argued the innocence of her accused mistress upon grounds, the nature of which cannot even be alluded to. The princess, it is clear, had urged Königsmark to renew his interrupted intrigue with Von Platen, out of dread that the latter, taking the princess as the cause of the intercourse having been broken off, should work a revenge which she did not hesitate to menace upon the princess herself.

The details of both stories are marked by great

improbability, but they have been in part substantiated by the death-bed confessions of the Countess von Platen, and Baumain, one of the guards, — the two criminals having, without so intending it, confessed to the same clergyman, — a minister named Kramer. Though these confessions are spoken of, and are even cited by German authors, their authenticity cannot perhaps be warranted. At all events, there is what I may term an English version of the details of this murder given by Horace Walpole, and as that lively writer founded his lugubrious details upon authority which he deemed could not be gainsaid, they may fairly find a place, by way of supplement to the foreign version.

“Königsmark’s vanity,” says Walpole, “the beauty of the electoral princess, and the neglect under which he found her, encouraged his presumptions to make his addresses to her, not covertly, and she, though believed not to have transgressed her duty, did receive them too indiscreetly. The old elector flamed at the insolence of so stigmatised a pretender, and ordered him to quit his dominions the next day. This princess, surrounded by women too closely connected with her husband, and consequently enemies of the lady they injured, was persuaded by them to suffer the count to kiss her hand, before his abrupt departure; and he was actually introduced by them into her bedchamber the next morning before she rose. From that moment he disappeared, nor was it known what became of him, till on the death of George I., on his son, the new king’s first journey to Hanover, some alterations in the palace being ordered by him, the body of Königsmark was discovered under

the floor of the electoral princess's dressing-room; the count having probably been strangled there, the instant he left her, and his body secreted. The discovery was hushed up. George II. (the son of Sophia Dorothea) entrusted the secret to his wife, Queen Caroline, who told it to my father; but the king was too tender of the honour of his mother to utter it to his mistress; nor did Lady Suffolk ever hear of it, till I informed her of it several years afterward. The disappearance of the count made his murder suspected, and various reports of the discovery of his body have of late years been spread, but not with the authentic circumstances."

To turn to the German sources of information: we are told by these, that after the departure of Königs-mark from the chamber of the princess, she was engaged in arranging her papers, and in securing her jewels, preparatory, as she hoped, to her anticipated removal to the court of Wolfenbüttel. She was, of course, kept in ignorance of the count's assassination; but she was perplexed by his disappearance, and alarmed when she heard that all his papers had been seized and conveyed to the elector for his examination. Some notes had passed between them: and, innocent as they were, she felt annoyed at the thought that their existence should be known, still more that they should be perused. To their most innocent expressions, the Countess von Platen, who examined them with the elector, gave a most guilty interpretation; and she so wrought upon Ernest Augustus, that he commissioned no less a person than the Count von Platen to interrogate the princess on the subject. I have previously said that she did not lack

spirit ; and when the coarse-minded count began to put coarse questions to her, as to the degree of intercourse which had existed between herself and the count, she spiritedly remarked that he appeared to imagine that he was examining into the conduct of his own wife, a thrust which he repaid, by bluntly informing her that, whatever intercourse may have existed, it would never be renewed, seeing that sure intelligence had been received of Königsmark's death.

Sophia Dorothea, shocked at this information, and at the manner in which it was conveyed, had no friend in whom she could repose confidence but her faithful lady in waiting, Mlle. von Knesebeck. The princess could have had no more ardent defender than this worthy attendant. But the assertions made by the latter, in favour of the mistress whom she loved, were not at all to the taste of the enemies of that mistress, and the speedy result was, that Mlle. von Knesebeck was arrested, and carried away to the castle of Schartzfeld, in the Hartz. She was there kept in confinement many years ; but she ultimately escaped so cleverly through the roof, by the help of a tiler, or a friend in the likeness of a tiler, that the credit of the success of the attempt was given by the governor of the gaol to the demons of the adjacent mountains.

Sophia Dorothea had now but one immediate earnest wish, namely, to retire from Hanover. Already the subject of a divorce had been mooted, but the elector being somewhat fearful that a divorce might affect his son's succession to his wife's inheritance, and even obstruct the union of Zell with Hanover, an

endeavour was made to reconcile the antagonistic spouses, and to bury past dissensions in oblivion.

It was previous to this attempt being entered upon, and perhaps because it was contemplated, that the princess voluntarily underwent a very solemn ordeal, — if I may so speak of the, at least solemn, ceremony to which I here allude. The ceremony was as public as it could be rendered by the presence of part of the electoral family, and the great official dignitaries of the Church and government. Before them, Sophia Dorothea partook of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour, and then made solemn protestation of her innocence, and of her unspotted faith toward the electoral prince, her husband. At the termination of this touching ceremony she was insulted by an incredulous smile which she saw upon the face of Count von Platen; whereat the natural woman was moved within her to ask him if his own excellent wife could take the same oath, in attestation of her unbroken faithfulness to him.

The essay at reconciliation was marred, or was rendered impossible, by an attempt made to induce the electoral princess to confess that she had been guilty of sins of disobedience toward the expressed will of her consort. All endeavour in this direction was fruitless; and though grave men made it, it shows how very little they comprehended their delicate mission. The princess remained fixed in her desire to withdraw from Hanover; but when she was informed of the wound this would be to the feelings of the elector and electress, and that George Louis himself was heartily averse to it, she began to waver,

and applied to her friends at Zell, among others to Bernstorff, the Hanoverian minister there, asking for counsel in this her great need.

Bernstorff, an ally of the Von Platens, secretly advised her to insist upon leaving Hanover. He assured her, pledging his word for what he said, that she would find a happy asylum at Zell; that even her father, so long estranged from her, would receive her with open arms; and that in the adoption of such a step, alone, could she hope for happiness and peace during the remainder of her life.

Worse counsel could not have been given, but it was given exactly because it was the worst.

She was as untruthfully served by some of the ladies of her circle, who, while professing friendship and fidelity, were really the spies of her husband, and her husband's mistress. They were of that class of women who were especially bred for courts and court intrigues, and whose hopes of fortune rested upon their doing credit to their education. In some respect they resembled the deformed and monstrous inmates of the human menagerie of the Emperors of Mexico; hideous anomalies, regarded by the Aztecs as a suitable appendage of state, and dwarfed and twisted into hideousness by unnatural parents desirous to procure a provision for their offspring by thus qualifying them for a place in the royal museum.

As the princess not merely insisted upon quitting Hanover, but firmly refused to acknowledge that she had been guilty of any wrong to her most guilty husband, a course was adopted by her enemies which, they considered, would not merely punish her, but

would transfer her possessions to her consort, without affecting the long projected union of Zell, after the duke's death, with the territory of Hanover. An accusation of adultery, even if it could be sustained, of which there was not the shadow of a chance, might, if carried out and followed by a divorce, in some way affect the transfer of a dominion to Hanover, which transfer rested partly on the rights of the wife of the electoral prince. A divorce might destroy the ex-husband's claims; but he was well-provided with lawyers to watch and guard the case to an ultimate conclusion in his favour.

A consistorial court was formed, of a strangely mixed character, for it consisted of the chief ecclesiastical lawyers, and some civil authorities of Hanover and Zell. It had no other authority to warrant its proceedings than the command or sanction of the elector, and the consent of the Duke of Zell, whose ill-feeling toward his child seemed to increase daily. The only charge laid against the princess before this anomalous court, was one of incompatibility of temper, added to some little failings of character; that is, of disposition, which two loving hearts, warmed by a mutual respect, might have adjusted in a few minutes by a brief explanation.

The court affected to attempt some such adjustment of the matter; but as the attempt was always based on another to drag from the princess a confession of her having, wittingly or unwittingly, given cause of offence to her husband, she continued firmly to refuse to place her consort in the right, by doing herself and her cause extremest wrong.

In the meantime, during an adjournment of the

court, she withdrew to Lauenau. She was prohibited from repairing to Zell, but there was no longer any opposition made to her leaving the capital of the electorate. She was, however, strictly prohibited from taking her children with her. Her parting from these was as painful a scene as can well be imagined, for she is said to have felt that she would never again be united with them. Her son, George Augustus, was then ten years of age, and her daughter, Sophia, two years younger. The homage of these children was rendered to their mother long after their hearts had ceased to pay any to their father, beyond a mere conventional respect.

In her temporary retirement at Lauenau, she was permitted to enjoy very little repose. The friends of the electoral prince seem to have been anxious lest she should publish more than was yet known of the details of his private life. This fear alone can account for their anxiety, or professed anxiety for a reconciliation. The lawyers, singly or in couples, and now and then a leash of them together, went down to Lauenau to hold conference with her. They assailed her socially, scripturally, legally; they pointed out how salubrious was the discipline which subjected a wife to confess her faults. They read to her whole chapters from Corinthians, on the duties of married ladies, and asked her if she could be so obstinate and unorthodox as to disregard the injunctions of St. Paul. Finally, they quoted codes and pandects, to prove that a sentence might be pronounced against her under contumacy, and concluded by recommending her to trust to the mercy of the crown prince, if she would but cast herself upon his honour.

They were grave men, sage, learned, experienced men; crafty, cunning, far-seeing men; in all the circles of the empire men were not to be found more skilled in surmounting difficulties than these indefatigable men, who were all foiled by the simplicity and firmness of a mere child. "If I am guilty," said she, "I am unworthy of the prince: if I am innocent, he is unworthy of me!"

Here was a conclusion with which the sciolist, as she was accounted, utterly confounded the sages. They could not gainsay it, nor refute the logic by which it was arrived at, and which gave it force. They were "perplexed in the extreme," but neither social experience, nor scriptural reading, nor legal knowledge afforded them weapons wherewith to beat down the simple defences behind which the pure princess had entrenched herself. They tried, tried repeatedly, but tried in vain. At the end of every trial she slowly and calmly enunciated the same conclusive and insuperable reply: "If I am guilty I am unworthy of him; if I am innocent, he is unworthy of me!"

From this text she would not depart; nor could all the chicanery of all the courts of Germany move her. "At least," said the luminaries of the law, as they took their way homeward, *re infecta*, "at least, this woman may, of a surety, be convicted of obstinacy." We always stigmatise as obstinate those whom we cannot convince. It is the only, and the poor, triumph of the vanquished.

This triumph was achieved by the consistory court, the members of which, unable to prove the princess guilty of crime, were angry because she would not

even confess to the commission of a fault ; that is, of such a fault as should authorise her husband, covered with guilt triple-piled, to separate from her person, yet maintain present and future property over her estates.

The court, however, was a tribunal which did not embarrass itself much either about law or equity ; and its decision, in December, 1694, that separation should be pronounced, on the ground of incompatibility of temper, surprised no one. The terms of the sentence were extraordinary, for they amounted to a decree of divorce, without expressly mentioning the fact. The judgment, wherein nothing was judged, conferred on the prince, George Louis, the right of marrying again, if he should be so minded, and could find a lady willing to be won. It, however, explicitly debarred the princess from entering into a second union. Not a word was written down against her alleging that she was criminal. The name of Königs-mark was not even alluded to. Notwithstanding these facts, and that the husband was the really guilty party, while the utmost which can be said against the princess was that she may have been indiscreet ; notwithstanding this, not only was he declared to be an exceedingly injured individual, but the poor lady, whom he held in his heart's hottest hate, was deprived of her property, possession of which was transferred to George Louis, in trust for the children ; and the princess, endowed with an annual pension of some eight or ten thousand thalers, was condemned to close captivity in the castle of Ahlden, near Zell, with a retinue of domestics, whose office was to watch her actions, and a body of armed gaolers,

whose only duty was to keep the captive secure in her bonds.

Sophia Dorothea entered on her imprisonment with a calm, if not with a cheerful heart; certainly with more placidity and true joy than George Louis felt, surrounded by his mistresses and all the pomp of the electoral state. All Germany is said to have been scandalised by the judgment delivered by the court. The illegality, and the incompetency of the court from which it emanated, were so manifest, that the sentence was looked upon as a mere wanton cruelty, carrying with it neither conviction nor lawful consequence. So satisfied was the princess's advocate on this point that he requested her to give him a letter declaring him non-responsible for having so far recognised the authority of the court, as to have pleaded her cause before it! What is perhaps more singular still, is the doubt which long existed whether this court ever sat at all; and whether decree of separation or divorce was ever pronounced in the cause of Sophia Dorothea of Zell, and George Louis, Electoral Prince of Hanover.

Horace Walpole says, on this subject: "I am not acquainted with the laws of Germany relative to divorce or separation, nor do I know or suppose that despotism and pride allow the law to insist on much formality when a sovereign has reason or mind to get rid of his wife. Perhaps too much difficulty in untying the Gordian knot of matrimony, thrown in the way of an absolute prince, would be no kindness to the ladies, but might prompt him to use a sharper weapon, like that butchering husband, our Henry VIII. Sovereigns, who narrow, or let out the law

of God, according to their prejudices and passions, mould their own laws, no doubt, to the standard of their convenience. Genealogic purity of blood is the predominant folly of Germany; and the code of Malta seems to have more force in the empire than the Ten Commandments. Thence was introduced that most absurd evasion of the indissolubility of marriage, espousals with the left hand, as if the Almighty had restrained his ordinance to one half of a man's person, and allowed a greater latitude to his left side than to his right, or pronounced the former more ignoble than the latter. The consciences both of princely and noble persons in Germany are quieted if the more plebeian side is married to one who would degrade the more illustrious moiety; but, as if the laws of matrimony had no reference to the children to be thence propagated, the children of a left-handed alliance are not entitled to inherit. Shocking consequence of a senseless equivocation, which only satisfies pride, not justice, and is calculated for an acquittal at the heralds' office, not at the last tribunal.

"Separated the Princess (Sophia) Dorothea certainly was, and never admitted even to the nominal honours of her rank, being thenceforward always styled the Duchess of Halle. Whether divorced is problematic, at least to me, nor can I pronounce, as, though it was generally believed, I am not certain that George espoused the Duchess of Kendal (Mlle. von Schulemburg) with his left hand. But though German casuistry might allow a husband to take another wife with his left hand, because his legal wife had suffered her right hand to be kissed by a gallant,

even Westphalian or Aulic counsellors could not have pronounced that such a momentary adieu constituted adultery ; and, therefore, of a formal divorce I must doubt, — and there I must leave that case of conscience undecided until future search into the Hanoverian Chancery shall clear up a point of little real importance.” Coxe, in his “Memoirs of Walpole,” says, on the other hand, very decidedly : “George I., who never loved his wife, gave implicit credit to the account of her infidelity, as related by his father ; consented to her imprisonment, and obtained from the ecclesiastical consistory a divorce, which was passed on the 20th of December, 1694.”

The researches into the Chancery of Hanover, which Walpole left to posterity, appear to have been made, and the decree of the consistorial court which condemned Sophia Dorothea has been copied, and published. It is quoted in the life of the princess, published anonymously in 1845, and it is inserted below for the benefit of those who like to read history by the light of documents.

It has been said that such a decree could only have been purchased by rank bribery, which is likely enough ; for the courts of Germany were so utterly corrupt that nothing could equal them in infamy, — except the corruption which prevailed in England. In the very year in which this decree is said to have been bought, bribery and corruption were corroding all ranks here, among ourselves. English officers and soldiers were left unpaid by the government, and allowed to exact subsistence money from the owners of the houses on whom they were quartered. The army agents, even when provided with funds, detained

the soldiers' pay, and forced the men to give extravagant premiums for the money doled out to them. In this very year, Colonel Hastings was cashiered for compelling his officers to purchase all their regimentals of him at an extravagant rate. Craggs, the contractor for clothing the army, was deprived of his office, and sent to the Tower, for refusing to exhibit his books; and Killegrew, Villars, and Gee, commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches, were ejected from their office, because they sold licenses which they were commissioned to grant without fee or reward. These punishments were inflicted by an indignant and pure House of Commons, which compelled Mr. Bird, an attorney, to go upon his knees, and ask pardon of the assembly for bribery, or for having been detected in awkwardly attempting to bribe certain members of the House. The senators who condemned were themselves corrupt; and in the dirty path of such corruption, Sir John Trevor, the Speaker, led the way. He was expelled for receiving a bribe of one thousand guineas from the city of London "for passing the Orphan Bill;" though men quite as corrupt were left unpunished for receiving vast sums of money from the East India Company, in return for facilitating some bills in which that body was interested. The method adopted by the House to cure the evil is a proof of the strabismic morality which prevailed. The Commons resolved, "That whoever should discover any money, or other gratuity, given to any member of the House, for matters transacted in the House, relating to the Orphans Bill, or the East India Company, should (himself) have the indemnity of the House for such guilt." When

immorality was so universal in England that Parliament could only attempt to cure it in its own body by encouraging knaves to purchase exemption from penalty by turning informers, we must not be too pharisaically severe upon the owners of the names affixed to the subjoined decree, even if it were purchased by what Mr. Paul Clifford's Bagshot friend was wont to call "the oil of palms." It deserves to be remembered that Horace Walpole, who knew something of the history of corruption, said of the Germans of his and his father's time, not only that they were a civil and agreeable people, but, as he believed, "one of the least corrupted nations in Europe."

"In the matrimonial suit of the illustrious Prince George Louis, Crown Prince of Hanover, against his consort, the illustrious Princess Sophia Dorothea, we, constituted president and judges of the Matrimonial Court of the Electorate and Duchy of Brunswick-Lunebourg, declare and pronounce judgment after attempts have been tried and have failed, to settle the matter amicably, and in accordance with the documents and verbal declarations of the princess, and other detailed circumstances, we agree that her continued denial of matrimonial duty and cohabitation is well founded, and consequently that it is to be considered as an intentional desertion. In consequence whereof, we consider, sentence, and declare the ties of matrimony to be entirely dissolved and annulled. Since, in similar cases of desertion, it has been permitted to the innocent party to remarry, which the other is forbidden, the same judicial power will be

exercised in the present instance, in favour of his Serene Highness, the Crown Prince.

"Published in the Consistorial Court at Hanover, December 28th, 1694.

(Signed) "PHILLIP VON BURSCHÉ.

FRANCIS EICHFELD (Pastor).

ANTHONY GEORGE HILDBERG.

GUSTAVUS MOLAN.

GERHARDT ART.

BERNHARD SPILKEN.

ERYTHROPAL.

DAVID RUPERTUS.

H. L. HATTORF."

The work from which the above document is extracted furnishes also the following, as the copy of the letter written by the princess at the request of the legal conductor of her case, as "security from proceedings in relation to his connection with her affairs :"

"As we have now, after being made acquainted with the sentence, given it proper consideration, and resolved not to offer any opposition to it, our solicitor must act accordingly, and is not to act or proceed any further in this matter. For the rest, we hereby declare that we are gratefully content with the conduct of our aforesaid solicitor of the court, Thies, and that by this we free him from all responsibility regarding these transactions.

(Signed) "SOPHIA DOROTHEA.

"*Lauenau, December 31, 1694.*"

By this last document, it would seem that the Hof-Rath Thies would have denied the competency of the court, had he been permitted to do so ; and that he was so convinced of its illegality, as to require a written prohibition from asserting the same, and acknowledgment of exemption from all responsibility before he would feel satisfied that he had accomplished his duty toward his illustrious client.

Four months previous to the publication of the sentence of the consistorial court, the two brothers, the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Zell, had agreed, by an enactment, that the unhappy marriage between the cousins should be dissolved. The enactment provided for the means whereby this end was to be achieved, and for the disposal of the princess during the progress of the case. The anonymous author of the biography of 1845 then proceeds to state that : "It was therein specified that her domestics should take a particular oath, and that the princess should enjoy an annual income of eight thousand thalers (exclusive of the wages of her household), to be increased one-half on the death of her father, with a further increase of six thousand thalers on her attaining the age of forty years. It was provided that the castle of Ahlden should be her permanent residence, where she was to remain well guarded. The domain of Wilhelmsburg, near Hamburg, was, at the death of the Duke of Zell, to descend to the prince, son of the Princess Sophia Dorothea — the crown prince, however, during his own life, retaining the revenues ; but should the grandson die before his father, the property would then, on payment of a stipulated sum, be inherited by the

successor in the government of the son of the elector. By a further arrangement, the mother of the princess was to possess Wienhausen, with an annual income of twelve thousand thalers, secured on the estates Schernebeck, Garze, and Bluettingen; the castle at Lunebourg to be allowed as her residence, from the commencement of her widowhood."

Never was so much care taken to secure property on one side, and the person on the other. The contracting parties appear to have been afraid lest the prisoner should ever have an opportunity of appealing against the wrong of which she was made the victim; and her strait imprisonment was but the effect of that fear. That nothing might be neglected to make assurance doubly sure, and to deprive her of any help she might hope hereafter to receive at the hands of a father, whose heart might possibly be made to feel his own injustice and his daughter's sorrows, the Duke of Zell was induced to promise that he would neither see nor hold communication with the daughter he had repudiated.

The oath to be taken by the household, or rather by the personal attendants, counts and countesses in waiting, and persons of similar rank, was stringent and illustrative of the importance attached to the safe-keeping of the prisoner. It was to the effect, "that nothing should be wanting to prevent anticipated intrigues; and for the perfect security of the place fixed as a residence for the Princess Sophia Dorothea, in order to maintain tranquillity, and to prevent any opportunity occurring to an enemy for undertaking or imagining anything which might cause a division in the illustrious family."

Whatever correspondence may have been held by letter between Sophia Dorothea and Königsmark, none was ever forthcoming to accuse or absolve. It is indeed said that the letters of the princess to the count were saved by the valet of the latter, and placed in the hands of the Löwenhaupt family, in Sweden, to a member of which a younger sister of Königsmark was married; and that among the archives of the Swedish family they are still preserved. This is a very apocryphal story, and not less apocryphal is the assertion that some score of letters, allegedly from the count to the princess, were discovered by George Louis, and copies of them sent to the Duke of Zell. No mention was made of such letters at the period of the trial, as it may be called, of Sophia Dorothea, and though documents, purporting to be portions of this epistolary correspondence between Königsmark and the princess, have been made public, they are entirely unauthenticated, bear neither date, name, nor address, and are, no doubt, very poor forgeries, which may have been committed by the author, to try his skill, but which could have brought as little profit to himself as pleasure to his readers.

Shortly after the sudden disappearance of the count, his mother and sisters, residing at Hamburg, made application to be put in possession of some property of their deceased relative, which had been deposited by him in the hands of a banker of that city. The latter person, however, naturally enough declined to surrender his trust, until sufficient proof had been adduced of the death of the alleged late owner of the property. The affair lingered for a

long time, and its prosecution was productive of some important consequences. In the course of that prosecution, the youngest sister of the count, the Countess Maria Aurora, repaired to Dresden to solicit the aid of the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, that unworthy prince who was subsequently the unworthy King of Poland. The elector was struck with the beauty of his fair petitioner, and appears to have driven a hard bargain with the handsome but not too honest suppliant. She became, after a decent show of resistance, first on the roll of the elector's "favourites," and in 1696 she gave birth to that famous Maurice de Saxe, who fought so well, spelled so ill, and loved so lightly; who possessed no excellence save bravery, was entirely destitute of all virtuous principle, and is the ancestor most boasted of by his clever descendant, Madame "George Sand."

From the period of the birth of Maurice, the Countess Aurora fell, or rose, from the condition of "favourite," to that of counsellor and friend. Even Augustus's poor consort is said to have looked with something of patience and even regard upon the only one of the mistresses of her wretched husband who treated her with respect. But what a condition must mark that household, wherein a neglected wife is reduced to the degradation of feeling grateful for little attentions from the hands of her husband's mistress! To such degradation Sophia Dorothea would never submit.

The Countess Aurora had been so triumphant, and yet so triumphed over, when a suppliant to Augustus, that the elector, in 1702, when reduced

to the most miserable extremity by the victorious Charles XII., despatched her upon the diplomatic mission of softening that monarch's not very susceptible heart. The ambadress was one of those women who fancy that they can overcome any one who, while listening to their power of tongue, ventures to look into their eyes. By magic of the latter, and of speech made up of very persuasive arguments, Aurora fondly hoped to touch the sensibilities that were supposed to be buttoned up beneath the unbrushed coat of the stoical Charles. The latter, distrusting his own possible weakness, and dreading the lady's united powers, showed himself a true hero by avoiding the temptation thrown in his way, and when the countess solicited an audience he stoutly refused to see her. "Well!" remarked the blushing Aurora, striving at the same time to wreathe the blush of vexation with the sunniest of her smiles, "I am the only person on whom the King of Sweden ever turned his back!"

This want of diplomatic success laid her more open than she had ever been before to the intrigues of her more brazen but less intellectual rivals; and Maria Aurora was dismissed from the court of her so-called "protector." It is good that vice should be exposed to such downfall, and that women who, like the lovely Aurora, can plead guilty to but a single fault, should be subject to a treatment which is severe discipline to themselves, and profitable example — if their sisters would but only condescend to benefit by it.

Aurora in her retirement more nearly resembled Madame de la Vallière than Heloise. She proved

a noble mother to her superb and graceless son, and she did not pass her time in the composition of ardent epistolary reminiscences of guilty pleasures, wherein the expressed contempt for bygone dear delights cannot conceal the writer's regret that they were no longer to be enjoyed. Aurora finally retired to the Protestant Abbey of Quedlinburg, in what then was Lower Saxony, and beguiled her long leisure hours by meditations, that would do honour to Krumacher, and by hymns, far more spiritual and sensible than those heavenly songs of the quietist Madame Guyon, and which read so very much like sprightly strains "writ" by Dan Prior, and "set" by mellifluous Travers.

The ladies of the abbey still exhibit, with authorised pride, the manuscript collection of psalms and hymns, the composition of which shows that their authoress had warmer love for Heaven than she ever had for man.

Her position here was one in which a weaker nature and a less sincere person would have been liable to be surrendered to the exercise of much worldly pride. Quedlinburg, on the Bode, now in Prussia, was an imperial free city, in which emperors had kept their state, the Church held councils, and the city imprisoned its counts in oaken cages. The nunnery of the abbey was founded by Matilda, the wife of the Emperor Henry the Fowler. The abbesses resided in the castle, which dominates above the town, and originally they were *ex-officio* princesses of the empire, independent of all spiritual sovereignty save that of the Pope, possessors of a vote in the Diet, and a seat on the bench of Rhenish

bishops. The entire town, including all the convents, nunneries, and adjacent extensive domains, belonged to the abbess, who counted among her vassals as many nobles of high rank as, among her nuns, ladies of royal and noble birth. When Aurora of Königs-mark became prioress of the community, the old splendour had been somewhat diminished, and what was left was a trifle tarnished, too. The feudal sovereignty departed from it at the Reformation, when the abbess adopted the Lutheran faith and lost the greater part of the abbey estates. Still, in Aurora's time much of splendour was left; its last spark went out in 1802, when the King of Prussia sequestered the convent, and converted it, in part, into a school.

Had Aurora been a weak woman, her pride would have lived here with her beauty; the former died early, the latter lived with her to the end. She was superb, even throughout her declining life, and when she died, in 1725, there passed away to her account a woman, not without sin, but also not without a sincere repentance.

Reader, and especially young reader,—if thou shouldst ever visit Quedlinburg, you may see there a better sermon than thou art likely to hear. Descend with the good-natured and willing sexton into the vault below the *Stifter Kirche*. On the right side of the vault there is a coffin, the lid of which he will remove with a singular alacrity. Look into it, and learn from what thou lookest on. That poor brown, dusty mummy is all that remains of the most beautiful woman of her time. That wretched but suggestive ruin once tabernacled the “immortal spark”

which yet lives, — but where? There is a sermon in the sight, and deep instruction in the thought.

We must leave both, however, to turn to another lady who, as it is believed, sinned less, but suffered longer.

CHAPTER IX.

PRISON AND PALACE

The Prison of the Captive Sophia Dorothea — Employment of Her Time — The Church of Ahlden Repaired by Her — Cut Off from Her Children — Sympathy of Ernest Augustus for His Daughter-in-law — Her Father's Returning Affection for Her — Opening Prospects of the House of Hanover — Lord Macclesfield's Embassy to Hanover, and His Right Royal Reception — Description of the Electress — Toland's Description of Prince George Louis — Magnificent Present to Lord Macclesfield — The Princess Sophia and the English Liturgy — Death of the Duke of Zell — Visit of Prince George to His Captive Mother Prevented.

THE castle of Ahlden is situated on the small and sluggish stream, the Aller ; and seems to guard, as it once oppressed, the little village sloping at its feet. This edifice was appointed as the prison-place of Sophia Dorothea ; and from the territory she acquired a title, that of Duchess of Ahlden. She was mockingly called sovereign lady of a locality where all were free but herself !

On looking over the list of the household which was formed for the service — if the phrase be one that may be admitted — of her captivity, the first thing which strikes us as singular is the presence of “three cooks,” — a triad of “ministers of the mouth” for one poor imprisoned lady !

The singularity vanishes when we find that around this engaged duchess there circled a really extensive

household, and there lived a world of ceremony, of which no one was so much the slave as she was. Her captivity in its commencement was decked with a certain sort of splendour, — about which she, who was its object, cared by far the least. There was a military governor of the castle, gentlemen and ladies in waiting, — spies all. Among the honester servants of the house were a brace of pages, and as many valets, a dozen female domestics, and fourteen footmen, who had to undergo the intense labour of doing very little in a very lengthened space of time. To supply the material wants of these, the three cooks, one confectioner, a baker, and a butler were provided. There was, besides, a military force, consisting of infantry and artillery. It must have cost the governor as little trouble and as much pride to manœuvre as the army of Thraso cost that valiant captain, when he laid such glorious siege to the strong fortress of that exemplary lady, Thais, in order to recover Pamphila. Altogether, there must have been work enough for the three cooks.

The forms of a court were long maintained, although only on a small scale. The duchess held her little levées, and the local authorities, clergy, and neighbouring nobility and gentry offered her such respect as could be manifested by paying her visits on certain appointed days. These visits, however, were always narrowly watched by the officials, whose office lay in such service, and was hid beneath a show of duty.

The successive governors of the castle were men of note, and their presence betokened the importance attached to the person and safe-keeping of the cap-

tive. During the first three years of her imprisonment, the post of governor was held by the Hof Grand Marshal von Bothmar. He was succeeded by the Count Bergest, who enjoyed his equivocal dignity of gaoler-governor about a quarter of a century. During the concluding years of the imprisonment of Sophia, her seneschal was a relative of one of her judges, Georg von Busche.

These men behaved to their prisoner with as much courtesy as they dared to show; nor was her captivity severe in anything but the actual deprivation of liberty, and of all intercourse with those she best loved, until after the first few years. The escape of Mlle. Knesebeck from her place of confinement appears to have given the husband of Sophia Dorothea an affectionate uneasiness, which he evidenced by giving orders that his wife's safe-keeping should be maintained with greater stringency.

From the day of the issuing of that order, she was never allowed to walk, even in the garden of the castle, without a guard. She never rode out, or drove through the neighbouring woods, without a strong escort. Even parts of the castle were prohibited from being intruded upon by her; and so much severity was shown in this respect that when, on one occasion, a fire broke out in the edifice, to escape from which she must have traversed a gallery which she was forbidden to pass, she stood short of the proscribed limit, her jewel-box in her arms, and herself in almost speechless terror, but refusing to advance beyond the prohibited line, until permission reached her from the proper authority.

On such a prisoner time must have hung espe-

cially heavy. She had, however, many resources, and every hour, with her, had its occupation. She was the land-steward of her little ducal estate, and performed all the duties of that office. She kept a diary of her thoughts as well as actions; and if this be extant, it would be well worthy of being published. Her correspondence, during the period she was permitted to write, was extensive. Every day she had interviews with, and gave instructions to, each of her servants, from the chief of the three cooks downward. With this, she was as personally active in charity as the good Duke de Penthièvre and his secretary, Florian, whose very sport it was to vie with each other in discovering the greater number of objects worthy of being relieved. Finally, she was the Lady Bountiful of the district, laying out half her income in charitable uses for the good of her neighbours, and, as Boniface said of the good lady of Lichfield, "curing more people in and about the place within ten years than the doctors had killed in twenty, and that's a bold word." Of George Louis it may be said what Cherry's thirsty father said of Lady Bountiful's son, Squire Sullen, "that he was a man of a great estate, who valued nobody."

There was a church in the village, which was in rather ruinous condition when her captivity commenced, but this she put in thorough repair, decorated it handsomely, presented it with an organ, and was refused permission to attend there after it had been reopened for public service. For her religious consolation, a chaplain had been provided, and she was never trusted, even under guard, to join with the villagers in common worship in the church

of the village below. In this respect, a somewhat royal etiquette was observed. The chaplain read prayers to the garrison and household in one room, to which the princess and her ladies listened rather than therewith joined, placed as they were in an adjacent room, where they could hear without being seen.

With no relative was she allowed to hold never so brief an interview ; and not even her mother was permitted to soften by her presence for an hour the rigid and ceremonious captivity of her luckless daughter. Mother and child were allowed to correspond at stated periods, their letters passing open ; but the princess herself was as much cut off from her own children, as if these had been dead and entombed. The little prince and princess were expressly ordered to utterly forget that they had a mother, — her very name on their lips would have been condemned as a grievous fault. The boy, George Augustus, was in many points of character similar to his father, and, accordingly, being commanded to forget his mother, he obstinately bore her in memory ; and when he was told that he would never have an opportunity afforded him to see her, mentally resolved to make one for himself.

It is but justice to the old elector to say that in his advanced years, when pleasant sins were no longer profitable to him, he gave them up ; and when the youngest of his mistresses had ceased to be attractive, he began to think such appendages little worth the hanging on to his electoral dignity. For, ceasing to love and live with his "favourites," he did not the more respect, or hold closer inter-

course with, his wife, — a course about which the Electress Sophia troubled herself very little. The elector, in short, was very much like the gentleman in the epigram, who said :

“ I’ve lost my mistress, horse, and wife,
And when I think on human life,
’Tis well that it’s no worse !
My mistress had grown lean and old,
My wife was ugly and a scold ; —
I’m sorry for my horse ! ”

In his later days, Ernest Augustus, having little regard for his wife or favourites, began to have much for the good things of the earth, a superabundance of which, as Johnson reminded Garrick, made death so terrible. When he ceased to be under the influence of the disgraced Countess von Platen, he began to be sensible of some sympathy for his daughter-in-law, Sophia. He softened in some degree the rigour of her imprisonment, and corresponded with her by letter ; a correspondence which inspired her with hope that her freedom might result from it. This hope was, however, frustrated by the death of Ernest Augustus, on the 20th of January, 1698. From that time, the rigour of her imprisonment was increased fourfold.

If the heart of her old father-in-law began to incline toward her as he increased in years, it is not to be wondered at that the heart of her aged father melted toward her as time began to press heavily upon him. But it was the weakest of hearts allied to the weakest of minds. In the comfortlessness of his great age, he sought to be comforted by loving

her whom he had insanely and unnaturally oppressed — the sole child of his heart and house. In his weakness he addressed himself to that tool of Hanover at Zell, the minister Bernstorff; and that individual so terrified the poor old man by details of the ill consequences which might ensue if the wrath of the new elector, George Louis, were aroused by the interference of the Duke of Zell, in matters which concerned the elector and his wife, that the old man, feeble in mind and body, yielded, and for a time at least left his daughter to her fate. He thought to compensate for the wrong which he inflicted on her under the impulse of his evil genius, Bernstorff, by adding a codicil to his will, wherein the name of his daughter is mentioned with an implied love which reminds one of the "and Peter," after the denial, and which told the other Apostles that love divine had not perished because of one poor mortal offence.

By this codicil he bequeathed to the daughter whom he had wronged, all that it was in his power to leave, in jewels, monies, and lands; but liberty he could not give her, and so his love could do little more than try to lighten the fetters which he had aided to put on. But there was a short-lived joy in store, both for child and parents. The fetters were to be cast aside for a brief season, and the poor captive was to enjoy an hour of home, of love, and of liberty.

The last year of the seventeenth century (1700) brought with it an accession of greatness to the electoral family of Hanover, inasmuch as in that year a bill was introduced into Parliament, and accepted by that body, which fixed the succession to

the crown of England after the Princess Anne, and in default of such princess dying without heirs of her own body, in the person of Sophia of Hanover. William III. had been very desirous for the introduction of this bill, but under various pretexts it had been deferred, the commonest business being allowed to take precedence of it, until the century had nearly expired. The limitations to the royal action, which formed a part of the bill as recommended in the report of the committee, were little to the king's taste; for they not only affected his employment of foreign troops in England, but shackled his own free and frequent departures from the kingdom. It was imagined by many that these limitations were designed by the leaders in the cabinet, in order to raise disputes between the two houses, by which the bill might be lost. Such is Burnet's report, and he sarcastically adds thereto, that when much time had been spent in preliminaries, and it was necessary to come to the nomination of the person who should be named presumptive heir next to Queen Anne, the office of doing so was confided to "Sir John Bowles, who was then disordered in his senses, and soon after quite lost them." "He was," says Burnet, "set on by the party to be the first that should name the Electress Dowager of Brunswick, which seemed done to make it less serious when moved by such a person." So that the solemn question of naming the heir to a throne was entrusted to an idiot, who, by the forms of the House, was appointed chairman of the committee for the conduct of the bill. Burnet adds, that the "thing," as he calls it, was "still put off for many weeks at every time that it was called

for ; the motion was entertained with coldness, which served to heighten the jealousy ; the committee once or twice sat upon it ; but all the members ran out of the House with so much indecency, that the contrivers seemed ashamed of this management ; there were seldom fifty or sixty at the committee, yet in conclusion it passed, and was sent up to the lords." Great opposition was expected from the peers, and many of their lordships designedly absented themselves from the discussion. The opposition was slight, and confined to the Marquis of Normanby, who spoke, and the Lords Huntingdon, Plymouth, Guildford, and Jefferies, who protested, against the bill. Burnet affirms, that those who wished well to the act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it, and which they thought might be considered afterward. "We reckoned it," says Burnet, "a great point carried that we had now a law on our side for a Protestant successor." The law was stoutly protested against by the Duchess of Savoy, granddaughter of Charles I. The protest did not trouble the king, who despatched the act to the electress dowager, and the Garter to her son, by the hands of the Earl of Macclesfield.

The earl was a fitting bearer of so costly and significant a present. He had been attached to the service of the mother of Sophia, and was highly esteemed by the electress dowager herself. The earl had no especial commission beyond that which enjoined him to deliver the act, nor was he dignified by any official appellation. He was neither ambassador, legate, plenipotentiary, nor envoy. He had with him, however, a most splendid suite ; which was in

some respects strangely constituted, for among its members was the famous, or infamous, Janius Junius Toland, whose book in support of rationality as applied to religion, and in denial that there was any mystery whatever in the Christian dispensation, had been publicly burnt by the hangman, in Ireland.

The welcome of this body of gentlemen was right royal. It may be said that the electoral family had neither cared for the dignity now rendered probable for them, nor in any way toiled or intrigued to bring it within their grasp; but it is certain that their joy was great, when the Earl of Macclesfield appeared on the frontier of the electorate with the act in one hand and the Garter in the other. He and his suite were met there with a welcome of extraordinary magnificence, betokening ample appreciation of the double gift he brought with him. He himself seemed elevated by his mission, for he was in his general deportment little distinguished by courtly manners or by ceremonious bearing; but it was observed that, on this occasion, nothing could have been more becoming than the way in which he acquitted himself of an office which brought a whole family within view of succession to a royal and powerful throne.

On reaching the confines of the electorate, the members of the deputation from England were received by personages of the highest official rank, who not only escorted them to the capital, but treated them on the way with a liberality so profuse as to be the wonder of all beholders. They were not allowed to disburse a farthing from their own purses; all they thought fit to order was paid for by the electoral government, by whose orders they were

lodged in the most commodious palace in Hanover, where as much homage was paid them as if each man had been a Kaiser in his own person. The Hanoverian gratitude went so far, that not only were the ambassador and suite treated as favoured guests, and that not alone of the princess but of the people, — the latter being commanded to refrain from taking payment from any of them, for any article of refreshment they required, — but for many days all English travellers visiting the city were made equally free of its caravansaries, and were permitted to enjoy all that the inns could afford, without being required to pay for the enjoyment.

The delicate treatment of the electoral government extended even to the servants of the earl and his suite. It was thought that to require them to dine upon the fragments of their master's banquets would be derogatory to the splendour of the hospitality of the house of Hanover, and an insult to the domestics who followed in the train of the earl. The government accordingly disbursed half a crown a day to the liveried followers, and considered such a "composition" as glorious to the reputation of the electoral house. The menials were even emancipated from service during the sojourn of the deputation in Hanover, and the elector's numerous servants waited upon the English visitors, zealously throughout the day, but with most splendour in the morning, when they were to be seen hurrying to the bedrooms of the different members of the suite, bearing with them silver coffee and tea pots, and other requisites for breakfast, which meal appears to have been lazily indulged in, as if the legation had been habitually

wont to "make a night of it," — in bed. And there was a good deal of hard drinking on these occasions, but all at the expense of the husband of Sophia Dorothea, who, in her castle of Ahlden, was not even aware of that increase of honour which had fallen upon her consort, and in which she had a right to share.

For those who were, the next day, ill or indolent, there were the ponderous state coaches to carry them whithersoever they would go. The most gorgeous of the fêtes given on this occasion, was on the evening of the day on which the act was solemnly presented to the electress dowager. Hanover, famous as it was for its balls, had never seen so glorious a Terpsichorean festival as marked this particular night. At the balls in the old elector's time, Sophia Dorothea used to shine, first in beauty and in grace, but now her place was ill supplied by the not fair and quite graceless Mlle. von Schulemberg. The supper which followed was Olympian in its profusion, wit, and magnificence. This was at a time when to be sober was to be respectable, but when to be drunk was not to be ungentlemanly. Consequently we find Toland, who wrote an account of the achievements of the day, congratulating himself and readers by stating that, although it was to be expected that in so large and so jovial a party some would be found even more ecstatic than the occasion and the company warranted, yet that, in truth, the number of those who were guilty of excess was but small. Even Lord Mohun kept himself sober, and to the end was able to converse as clearly and intelligibly as Lord Saye and Sele, and his friend "my Lord Tunbridge."

With what degree of lucidity these noble gentlemen talked, we are not told, so that we can hardly judge of the measure of Lord Mohun's sobriety. That he was not very drunk, seems to Toland a thing to be thankful for, seeing that it had long been his custom to be so, until of late, when he had delighted the prudent by forswearing sack and living cleanly.

This day of presentation of the act, and of the festival in honour of it, was one of the greatest days which Hanover had ever seen. Every one wore a face of joy, at least so we collect from Toland's description of what he saw, and from which description we cull a few paragraphs by way of picture of scene and players. Speaking of the mother-in-law of Sophia Dorothea, he says: "The electress is three and seventy years old, which she bears so wonderfully well, that had I not many vouchers, I should scarce dare venture to relate it. She has ever enjoyed extraordinary health, which keeps her still very vigorous, of a cheerful countenance, and a merry disposition. She steps as firm and erect as any young lady, has not one wrinkle in her face, which is still very agreeable, nor one tooth out of her head, and reads without spectacles, as I have often seen her do, letters of a small character, in the dusk of the evening. She is as great a writer as our late queen (Mary), and you cannot turn yourself in the palace, without meeting some monument of her industry, all the chairs of the presence-chamber being wrought with her own hands. The ornaments of the altar in the electoral chapel are all of her work. She bestowed the same favour on the Protestant abbey, or college, of Lockurn, with a thousand other in-

stances, fitter for your lady to know than for yourself. She is the most constant and greatest walker I ever knew, never missing a day, if it proves fair, for one or two hours and often more, in the fine garden at Herrnhausen. She perfectly tires all those of her court who attend her in that exercise, but such as have the honour to be entertained by her in discourse. She has been long admired by all the learned world as a woman of incomparable knowledge in divinity, philosophy, history, and the subjects of all sorts of books, of which she has read a prodigious quantity. She speaks five languages so well, that by her accent it might be a dispute which of them was her first. They are Low Dutch, German, French, Italian, and English, which last she speaks as truly and easily as any native ; which to me is a matter of amazement, whatever advantages she might have in her youth by the conversation of her mother ; for though the late king's (William's) mother was likewise an Englishwoman, of the same royal family, though he had been more than once in England before the Revolution ; though he was married there, and his court continually full of many of that nation, yet he could never conquer his foreign accent. But, indeed, the electress is so entirely English in her person, in her behaviour, in her humour, and in all her inclinations, that naturally she could not miss of anything that peculiarly belongs to our land. She was ever glad to see Englishmen, long before the Act of Succession. She professes to admire our form of government, and understands it mighty well, yet she asks so many questions about families, customs, laws, and the like, as sufficiently demonstrate her profound

wisdom and experience. She has a deep veneration for the Church of England, without losing affection or charity for any other sort of Protestants, and appears charmed with the moderate temper of our present bishops and other of our learned clergy, especially for their approbation of the liberty allowed by law to Protestant Dissenters. She is adored for her goodness among the inhabitants of the country, and gains the hearts of all strangers by her unparalleled affability. No distinction is ever made in her court concerning the parties into which Englishmen are divided, and whereof they carry the effects and impressions with them whithersoever they go, which makes others sometimes uneasy as well as themselves. There it is enough that you are an Englishman, nor can you ever discover by your treatment which are better liked, the Whigs or the Tories. These are the instructions given to all the servants, and they take care to execute them with the utmost exactness. I was the first who had the honour of kneeling and kissing her hand on account of the Act of Succession; and she said among other discourse, that she was afraid the nation had already repented their choice of an old woman, but that she hoped none of her posterity would give her any reasons to grow weary of their dominion. I answered, that the English had too well considered what they did, to change their minds so soon, and they still remembered they were never so happy as when they were last under a woman's government. Since that time, sir," adds the courtly but unorthodox Toland to the "Minister of State in Holland," to whom his letter is addressed, "we have a further confirmation of

this truth by the glorious administration of Queen Anne."

Such is a picture, rather "loaded," as an artist might say, of the mother-in-law of the prisoner of Ahlden. The record would be imperfect if it were not accompanied by another "counterfeit presentment," that of her son.

At the period when Toland accompanied the Earl of Macclesfield to Hanover, with the Act of Succession, the most important personage at that court, next to the electress, the *Regina designata Britanniarum*, was her son, Prince George Louis, the husband of Sophia Dorothea. Toland describes him as "a proper, middle-sized, well-proportioned man, of a genteel address, and good appearance;" but he adds that his Highness "is reserved, and therefore speaks little, but judiciously." George Louis, like "Monseigneur" at Versailles, cared for nothing but hunting. "He is not to be exceeded," says Toland, "in his zeal against the intended universal monarchy of France, and so is most hearty for the common cause of Europe," for the very good reason, that therein "his own is so necessarily involved." Toland, in the humour to praise everything, adds, that George Louis understood the constitution of England better than any "foreigner" he had ever met with; a very safe remark, for our constitution was ill understood abroad; and even had the theoretical knowledge of George Louis been ever so correct, his practice with our constitution betrayed such ignorance that Toland's assertion may be taken only *quantum valuit*, for what it is worth. "Though," says the writer just named, "though he be well versed

in the art of war, and of invincible courage, having often exposed his person to great dangers in Hungary, in the Morea, on the Rhine, and in Flanders, yet he is naturally of peaceable inclination; which mixture of qualities is agreed, by the experience of all ages, to make the best and most glorious princes. He is a perfect man of business, exactly regular in the economy of his revenues" (which he never was of those of England, seeing that he outran his liberal allowance, and coolly asked the Parliament to pay his debts), "reads all despatches himself at first hand, writes most of his own letters, and spends a considerable part of his time about such occupations, in his closet, and with his ministers."

Toland, however, was afraid he had not sufficiently gilded over that sullen reserve in the character of the husband of Sophia Dorothea, which alone was sufficient to render him unpopular. "I hope," he says, "that none of our countrymen will be so injudicious as to think his reservedness the effect of sullenness or pride; nor mistake that for state, which really proceeds from modesty, caution, and deliberation; for he is very affable to such as accost him, and expects that others should speak to him first, which is the best information I could have from all about him, and I partly know to be true by experience."

Then we have a trait in the electoral character which was not to be found subsequently in the king; "for," says the hanger-on to Lord Macclesfield's ambassadorial cloak, "as to what I said of his frugality in laying out the public money, I need not give a more particular proof than that all the expenses of

his court, as to eating, drinking, fire, candles, and the like, are duly paid every Saturday night ; the officers of his army receive their pay every month, so likewise his envoys in every part of Europe ; and all the officers of his household, with the rest that are on the civil list, are cleared off every half year." We are then assured that his administration was equable, mild, and prudent, — a triple assertion, which his own life, and that of his hardly used wife, flatly denied. Toland, however, will have it, in his "lively sense of favours to come," that there never existed a prince who was so ardently beloved by his subjects. On this point, the "Petit Roi d'Yvetot" of Beranger sinks into comparative unpopularity. Hanover itself is said to be without division or faction, and all Hanoverians as being in a condition of ecstasy at the Solomon-like rectitude and jurisdiction of his Very Serene Highness. But it must be remembered that all this is said by a man who never condescended to remember that George Louis had a wife. He is entirely oblivious of the captive consort of the elector, but he can afford to express admiration for the elector's mistresses. He describes Madame Kielmansegge, the daughter of the Countess von Platen, and who occupied near the prince a station similar to that which her mother held near the prince's father, as a woman of sense and wit ; and of Mlle. Schulemberg, he says that she is especially worthy of the rank she enjoys, and that, "in the opinion of others, as well as mine, she is a lady of extraordinary merit !" — such merit as distinguished the niece of the governor of the Philippine Islands, who, under the mask of attachment, robbed Gil Blas of his diamond ring.

There is something suggestive in much of what is here set down. A lunatic proposed that Sophia of Hanover should succeed to the throne of England ; and the hand of that lady, who denied the apostolic succession of bishops, and sneered at the episcopacy, was first kissed, when the Act of Succession was presented to her, by an infidel, the son of a Romish priest, whose book against the mysteries of Christianity had been burned in the streets of Dublin by the hands of the hangman. This is historically, and not satirically, set down. Some, at the time, thought it ominous of evil consequences, but we who live to see the consequences may learn therefrom to disregard omens. Whatever may be said upon this point, however, there only remains to be added, that the legation left Hanover, loaded with presents. The earl received the portrait of the electress, with an electoral crown in diamonds, by way of mounting to the frame. George Louis bestowed upon him a gold basin and ewer, — no unsuitable present to the native of a country whose people were distinguished, to a later period than this, as being the only civilised people who sat down to meat without previous ablution, even of the hands. Gold medals and snuff-boxes were showered among the other members. The chaplain, Doctor Sandys, was especially honoured by rich gifts in medals and books. He was the first who ever read the service of our Church in the presence of the electress. She joined in it with apparent fervour, and admired it generally ; but when a hint was conveyed to her that it might be well were she to introduce it in place of the Calvinistic form used in her chapel, as of the Lutheran in that of the elector,

she shook her head with a smile ; said that there was no difference between the three forms, in essentials, and that episcopacy was merely the established form in England. She thought for the present she would "let well alone." And it was done accordingly!

In the year 1705, the English Parliament passed an act for naturalising the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the issue of her body. This was an act, therefore, which made an Englishman of George Louis. It was not, however, in honour of such an event that a short season of freedom was granted to the prisoner of Ahlden.

In the year last mentioned, the war was raging which France was carrying on for the purposes of extending her limits and influence, and which England and her allies had entered into in order to resist such aggression, and restore that terribly oscillating matter—the balance of European power. The Duke of Marlborough had, at the prayer of the Dutch States, left the banks of the Moselle, in order to help Holland, menaced on the side of Liège by a strong French force. Our great duke left General D'Aubach at Trèves to secure the magazines which the English and Dutch had laid up there ; but upon the approach of Marshal Villars, D'Aubach destroyed the magazines and abandoned Trèves, of which the French immediately took possession. This put an end to all the schemes which had been laid for attacking France on the side of the Moselle, where her frontiers were but weak, and carried her confederates back to Flanders, where, as the old-fashioned chronicler, Salmon, remarks, "they yearly threw away thousands of brave fellows against stone walls." Thereupon, Hanover

became menaced. On this, Horace Walpole has something in point :

“As the genuine wife was always detained in her husband’s power, he seems not to have wholly dissolved their union ; for, on the approach of the French army toward Hanover, during Queen Anne’s reign, the Duchess of Halle (Ahlden) was sent home to her father and mother, who doted on their only child, and did retain her for a whole year, and did implore, though in vain, that she might continue to reside with them.”

Of the incidents of this second separation nothing is known, but conjecture may well supply all its grief and pain. It would seem, however, as if some of the restrictions were taken off from the rules by which the captive was held. There was no prohibition of intercourse with the parents ; for the Duke of Zell had resolved on proceeding to visit his daughter, but only deferred his visit until the conclusion of a grand hunt, in which he was anxious to take part. He went ; and between fatigue, exposure to inclement weather, and neglect on his return, he became seriously ill, rapidly grew worse, died on the 28th of August, 1705, and by his death gave the domains of a dukedom to Hanover, and deprived his daughter of a newly acquired friend.

The death of the Duke of Zell, if it caused profit to Hanover, was also followed by honour to Bernstorff. The services of that official were so agreeable to George Louis that he appointed him to the post of prime minister of Hanover, and at the same time made him a count. The death of the father of Sophia Dorothea was, however, followed by consequences

more fatal than those just named. The severity of the imprisonment of the princess was much aggravated; and though she was permitted to have an occasional interview with her mother, all application to be allowed to see her two children was sternly refused, — and this refusal, as the poor prisoner used to remark, was the bitterest portion of her misery.

It was of her son that George Louis used to say, in later years, “*Il est fougeux, mais il a du cœur,*” — hot-headed but not heartless. George Augustus manifested this disposition very early in life. He was on one occasion hunting in the neighbourhood of Luisberg, not many miles from the scene of his mother’s imprisonment, when he made a sudden resolution to visit her, regardless of the strict prohibition against such a course, laid on him by his father and the Hanoverian government. Laying spurs to his horse, he galloped at full speed from the field, and in the direction of Ahlden. His astonished suite, seeing the direction which he was following at so furious a rate, immediately suspected his design, and became legally determined to frustrate it. They left pursuing the stag, and took to chasing the prince. The heir apparent led them far away over field and furrow, to the great detriment of the wind and persons of his pursuers; and he would have distanced the whole body of flying huntsmen, but that his steed was less fleet than those of two officers of the electoral household, who kept close to the fugitive, and at last came up with him on the skirts of a wood adjacent to Ahlden. With mingled courtesy and firmness they represented to him that he could not be permitted to go farther in a direction which was for-

bidden, as by so doing he would not only be treating the paternal orders with contempt, but would be making them accomplices in his crime of disobedience. George Augustus, vexed and chafed, argued the matter with them, appealed to their affections and feelings, and endeavoured to convince them both as men and as ministers, as human beings and as mere official red-tapists, that he was authorised to continue his route to Ahlden, by every law, earthly or divine.

The red-tapists, however, acknowledged no law under such circumstances, but that of their electoral lord and master, and that law they would not permit to be broken. The prince would have made a note of their protest, to shield them subsequently from their master's displeasure, but they were too resolute to be content with merely making a protest against a course which it was in their power to prevent, and accordingly, laying hold of the bridle of the prince's steed, they turned its head homewards, and rode away with George Augustus in a state of full discontent and strict arrest.

CHAPTER X.

THE SUCCESSION — DEATH OF THE ELECTRESS

Marriage of Prince George to Princess Caroline of Anspach, and of His Sister to the Crown Prince of Prussia — Honours Conferred by Queen Anne on Prince George — Intention to Bring over to England the Princess Sophia — Opposed by Queen Anne — Foundation of the Kingdom of Prussia — The Establishment of This Protestant Kingdom Promoted by the Jesuits — The Electress Sophia's Visit to Loo — The Law Granting Taxes on Births, Deaths, and Marriages — Complaint of Queen Anne against the Electress — Tom d'Urfey's Doggerel Verses on Her — Death of the Electress — Character of Her.

IN some of the comedies of Terence, the heroines — the most important personages in the play — are heard of, but never seen; much spoken about, but never speaking. What a coil there is in the *Phormio*, for instance, touching *Phanium*, the wife of *Antipho*, and *Pamphila*, the "*serva à Phædriâ amata!*" — and yet how little is really known about either! Poor *Sophia Dorothea* in the drama of her life at *Ahlden* is something like the two characters in the Athenian drama of the swarthy African; with this difference, however, that she is not, as they are, the object of a human love. She is off the stage, and little, indeed, is known of her, save that she is immured in a dull castle, or taking exercise within the dull limits of a dull country. Beyond this, there is nothing narrated of her during the first ten years of her captivity.

Something startling and dramatic had like to have happened when George Augustus suddenly resolved to visit his mother, but was obstructed in his resolution. His sire, meditating on the fact, determined to provide him with a wife.

The elector then meditating, as I have said, on this sudden development of the domestic affections of his son, resolved to aid such development, not by giving him access to his mother, but by bestowing on him the hand of a consort. Of this lady I shall have to speak more at length hereafter, for she became Queen Consort of England, at the accession of her husband, George II. In the meantime, it will be sufficient to record here what is said of her by Burnet :

“While the house of Austria was struggling with great difficulties, two pieces of pomp and magnificence consumed a great part of their treasure : an embassy was sent from Lisbon to demand the emperor’s sister for that king, which was done with an unusual and extravagant expense ; a wife was to be sought for King Charles (of Spain) among the Protestant courts, for there was not a suitable match in the Popish courts. He had seen the Princess of Anspach, and was much taken with her ; so that great applications were made to persuade her to change her religion, but she could not be prevailed on to buy a crown at so dear a rate ; and soon after she was married to the prince electoral of Brunswick, which gave a glorious character of her to this nation ; and her pious firmness is likely to be rewarded even in this life, with a much better crown than that which she rejected. The Princess of Wolfenbüttel

was not so firm, so that she was brought to Vienna, and some time after was married by proxy to King Charles, and was sent to Italy on her way to Spain. The solemnity with which these affairs were managed, in all this distress of their affairs, consumed a vast deal of treasure ; for such was the pride of those courts on such occasions that, rather than fail in a point of splendour, they would let their most important affairs go to wrack. That princess was landed at Barcelona, and the Queen of Portugal the same year came to Holland, to be carried to Lisbon by a squadron of the English fleet."

Caroline of Anspach was a very accomplished young lady, and much of such accomplishments was owing to the careful education which she received at the hands of the best-loved child of the electress, Sophia Charlotte, Electress of Brandenburg, and the first, but short-lived, Queen of Prussia. If the instructress was able, the pupil was apt. She was quick, inquiring, intelligent, and studious. Her application was great, her perseverance unvaried, and her memory excellent. She learned quickly, and retained largely, seldom forgetting anything worth remembrance ; and was an equally good judge of books and individuals. Her perception of character has, perhaps, never been surpassed. She had no inclination for trivial subjects, nor affection for trivial people. She had a heart and mind only for philosophers and philosophy ; but she was not the less a lively girl, or the more a pedant, on that account. She delighted in lively conversation, and could admirably lead or direct it. Her knowledge of languages was equal to that of Sophia of Hanover, of whom she was also the

equal in wit and in repartee. But therewith she was more tender, more gentle, more generous. When she became the wife of George Augustus, it was again like uniting Iphigenia to Cymon. But the Cymon of the Iphigenia of Anspach could not appreciate the treasure confided to him, and though he could never despise his wife, it can be hardly said that he ever truly loved her.

The marriage of George Augustus, Electoral Prince of Brunswick-Hanover, with Caroline, daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Anspach, was solemnised in the year 1705. It was rather an eventful year for England. It was that in which Marlborough forced the French lines at Tirlemont, a feat for which the nation rendered public thanksgiving to God. It was the year in which England poured out some of her best blood, in order to secure the throne of Spain to a prince of the house of Austria, — a service for which Austria repaid her only with ingratitude. It was the year in which the two Houses of Convocation were vulgarly brawling at each other concerning the right of adjournment; a dispute, which her Majesty Queen Anne settled by proroguing the contentious assembly, and by addressing a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, declaratory of her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the subordination of presbyters to bishops. It was the year in which died Queen Catherine, the patient wife and very resigned widow of the graceless Charles II.; and finally, it was the year in which the act passed for “naturalising the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the issue of her body.”

The wife of George Augustus was of the same age as her husband. She had had the misfortune to lose her father when she was yet extremely young, and had been, as I have before remarked, brought up at the court of Berlin under the guardianship, and no insufficient one, of Sophia Charlotte, the consort of Frederick of Prussia. She gave promise in her childhood of being a clever woman, and that promise, at least, was not "made to the ear to be broken to the hope." How this promise was fulfilled, we shall be able to see in a future page.

The sister of George Augustus, the only daughter of Sophia Dorothea, and bearing the same baptismal names as her mother, was also married during the captivity of the latter. One can hardly conceive of wedding-bells ringing merrily when the mother of the bride is a stigmatised woman, pining in a prison. Three remarkable Englishmen were present at the marriage of the daughter of Sophia Dorothea with the Prince Royal of Prussia. These were Lord Halifax, Sir John Vanbrugh, and Joseph Addison. The last-mentioned had yet fresh on his brow the laurels which he had gained by writing what Warton ill-naturedly called his rhyming gazette, "The Campaign," in a garret in the Haymarket, and in celebration of the victory at Blenheim. Queen Anne, who had restored Halifax to a favour from which he had fallen, entrusted him to carry the bill for the naturalisation of the electoral family, and for the better security of the Protestant line of succession, — and also the Order of the Garter for the electoral prince. On this mission, Addison was the united companion of the patron whom he so choicely flattered. Van-

brugh was present in his official character of Clarendieux King at Arms, and performed the ceremony of investiture. The little court of Hanover was joyfully splendid on this doubly festive occasion. The nuptials were celebrated with more accompanying gladness than ever followed them. When Addison, some years subsequently, memorialised George I., the petition stated "that my Lord Halifax, upon going to Hanover, desired him to accompany him thither; at which time, though he had not the title of his secretary, he officiated as such, without any other reward than the satisfaction of showing his zeal for that illustrious family."

The nuptials of the young princess with Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia, lacked neither mirth nor ceremony for the circumstance just alluded to. The pomp was something uncommon in its way, and the bride must have been wearied of being married long before the stupendous solemnity had at length reached its slowly-arrived-at conclusion. She became Queen of Prussia in 1712, and of her too I shall have to speak a little more in detail in another chapter. Here it will suffice to say that she was by no means indifferent to the hard fate under which her mother groaned. She was the better enabled to sympathise with one who suffered through the cruel oppression and injustice of a husband, from the fact that her own illustrious spouse was, in every sense of the word, her "lord and master," and treated her with as little consideration as though she had been head-servant of his exceedingly untidy establishment, rather than consort and queen, to whom, in common with his children, he administered now a

heavy blow and even a harsh word, and whom he never soothed with a kind expression but when he had some evil intention in giving it utterance.

Honours now fell thick upon the electoral family, but Sophia Dorothea was not permitted to have any share therein. In 1706, Queen Anne created the son of George Louis, the old suitor for her hand, — Baron of Tewkesbury, Viscount Northallerton, Earl of Milford Haven, Marquis and Duke of Cambridge. With these honours it was also decreed that he should enjoy full precedence over the entire peerage.

There was a strong party in England whose most earnest desire it was that the Electress Sophia, in whose person the succession to the crown of Great Britain was settled, should repair to London, — not permanently to reside there, but in order that during a brief visit she might receive the homage of the Protestant party. She was, however, reluctant to move from her books, philosophy, and cards, until she could be summoned as queen. Failing here, an attempt was made to bring over George Louis, who was nothing loth to come; but the idea of a visit from him was to poor Queen Anne the uttermost abomination. Her Majesty had some grounds for her dislike to a visit from her old wooer. It was not merely the feeling which every one with a fortune to leave is said to entertain toward an heir presumptive, but that she was nervously in terror of a monster popular demonstration. Such a demonstration was publicly talked of; and the enemies of the house of Stuart, by way of instruction and warning to the queen, whose Jacobite bearings toward her brother were matter of notoriety, had determined, in the

event of George Louis visiting England, to give him an escort into London that should amount to the very significant number of some forty or fifty thousand men.

It was the Duke of Devonshire who originally moved the House of Lords for leave to bring in a bill to give the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge, the precedence of peers. Leave was given, but some of the adherents of the House of Hanover did not think that the bill went far enough, and accordingly the lord treasurer, previous to the introduction of the Duke of Devonshire's measure, "offered a bill, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as the children and nephews of the Crown;" and it was intimated that bills relating to honours and precedence ought to come from the Crown. "The Duke of Devonshire," adds Burnet, "would make no dispute on this head; if the thing passed, he acquiesced in the manner of passing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the House." On this occasion the court seemed, even to an affectation, to show a particular zeal in promoting this bill; for it passed through both Houses in two days, it being read thrice in a day in them both. "For all this haste," continues the minute recorder, "the court did not seem to design any such bill till it was proposed by others, out of whose hands they thought fit to take it." In other words, the court would not have been Hanoverian in this matter, but for outward popular pressure.

Some time previous to this, the Earl of Rochester had designed to bring in a bill which he described as concerning the security of the nation, and the means

whereby such security was to be accomplished consisted in bringing over the Electress Sophia permanently to reside in England.

The party advocating this measure comprised men who were anything but zealous for the interests of the family for whose profit it was designed ; but they favoured it for the sufficient political reason that it was a measure displeasing to Queen Anne. It was hoped by them that out of the discussion a confusion might arise from which something favourable might be drawn for the pretensions of the "Prince of Wales." "They reckoned such a motion would be popular, and if either the court or the Whigs, on whom the court was now beginning to look more favourably, should oppose it, this would cast a load on them as men, who, after all the zeal they had expressed for that succession, did now, upon the hopes of favour at court, throw it up; and those who had been hitherto considered as the enemies of that house might hope, by this motion, to overcome all the prejudices which the nation had taken up against them; and they might create a merit to themselves in the minds of that family by this early zeal, which they resolved now to express for it."

In a subsequent session of Parliament, the question of the residence in this country of the declared successor to the crown was introduced into more than one debate. At all these debates (in the House of Lords) Queen Anne herself was present. Lord Haversham, in his speech arraigning the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough in his various campaigns, touched also on this matter. "He said we had declared a successor to the crown who was at

a great distance from us, while the Pretender was much nearer, and Scotland was aroused and ready to receive him, and seemed resolved not to have the same successor for whom England had declared. There were threatening dangers that hung over us, and might be near us. He concluded that he did not see how they could be prevented and the nation made safe by any other way but by inviting the next successor to come and live among us." The Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesea, carried on the debate with great earnestness. "It was urged that they had sworn to maintain the succession, and by that they were bound to insist on the motion, since there were no means so sure to maintain it as to have the successor upon the spot ready to maintain his right. It appeared through our whole history that whoever came first into England had always carried it; the pretending successor might be in England within three days, whereas it might be three weeks before the declared successor would come. From thence it was inferred that the danger was apparent and dreadful if the successor should not be brought over. With these lords, by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined; and by another, and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it. They thought this motion was to be left wholly to the queen; that it was neither proper nor safe, either for the Crown or the nation, that the heir should not be in an entire dependence on the queen; a rivalry between two courts might bring us into great destruction, and be attended with very ill consequences. The next successor had expressed a full satisfaction, and rested on the assurances the

queen had given her of her firm adherence to the title and to the maintaining of it. The nation was prepared for it by orders the queen had given to name her in the daily prayers of the Church. Great endeavours had been used to bring the Scotch nation to declare the same successor. It was true we still wanted one great security, — we had not yet made any provisions for carrying on the government, for maintaining the public quiet, for proclaiming and for sending for the successor, and for keeping things in order till the successor should come. It seemed, therefore, necessary to make an effectual provision against the disorders which might happen in such an interval. This was proposed first by myself (Burnet) and seconded by the Lord Godolphin, and all the Whigs went into it; and so the question was put before the other motion as first put, by a previous division, whether that should be put or not, and was carried in the negative by about three to one."

If this be not elegantly, it is at least clearly expressed by Burnet, who, in adding that the queen was present throughout this monstrous debate, informs us that her Majesty was "annoyed at the behaviour of some who, when they had credit with her, and apprehended that such a motion might be made by the Whigs, had possessed her with deep prejudices against it, for they made her apprehend that, when the next successor should be brought over, she herself would be so eclipsed by it that she would be much in the successor's power, and reign only at her or his courtesy; yet these very persons, having now lost their interest in her and their posts, were driving on that very motion which they made

her apprehend was the most fatal thing that could befall. This the Duchess of Marlborough told me, but she named no person; and upon it a very black suspicion was taken up by some that the proposers of this matter knew, or at least believed, that the queen would not agree to this motion which way soever it might be brought to her, whether in an address or in a bill; and then they might reckon that this would give such a jealousy, and create such a misunderstanding between her and the Parliament, or, rather, the whole nation, as would unsettle her whole government, and put all things in disorder. But this was only a suspicion, and more cannot be made of it."

Plain as all this is in some things and suggestive in others, it does not explain much that is incomprehensible and unsatisfactory in the history of the succession settlement and the intrigues by which it was accomplished. The question first became a serious one when the son of Anne, her only child, the hope of Protestant England, died in the year 1700. King William bore the misfortune which had befallen his sister-in-law with that cheerful resignation which the selfish feel for the calamities of other people. He looked very sharply to the pecuniary profits to be made by the suppression of the young duke's household, and he concerned himself very little touching the outward marks of mourning which custom and decency enjoined as observance of respect. He was then himself a widowed king in seclusion at Loo, and such of the Protestant party who believed that the marriage of Anne with George of Denmark would be productive of no further issue, busied themselves in

finding eligible wives for King William, and congratulated themselves on the prospects of a succession thence to arise. William, however, did not care to second their views; and he was in this condition of disregard for the succession to the crown when he was visited by the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her daughter, the Electress of Brandenburg. The latter was that Sophia Charlotte under whose superintendence Caroline of Anspach, the queen-consort of George II., was educated.

It was said that this visit had no other object than to secure William's influence with the empress for the elevation of the electorate of Brandenburg to the rank of a kingdom under the name of Prussia. William, however, possessed no such influence, and the visit alluded to had no such object. The story of the rise of Prussia may be told in a very few words, and it is not disconnected from the history of Sophia Dorothea, for the crown of that kingdom subsequently rested on the brow of her only daughter.

The Polish dukedom of Prussia had fallen, by inheritance, to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1618. About forty years later it was made free of all Polish jurisdiction, and annexed to Brandenburg by treaty. During the following thirty years the possessions of the Great Elector, as he was called, were greatly enlarged, chiefly by marriage treaties or by legal inheritance; and when Frederick, the son of the Great Elector, succeeded to his father's dominions in 1688, he had nothing so much at heart as the elevation of the electorate into a kingdom. He succeeded in obtaining the title of king from the Emperor

of Germany not without difficulty. His claim was grounded on the fact that he exercised sovereign right in Prussia, and it only succeeded by being supported by promises of adherence to the house of Austria in all difficulties, and by a bribe, or purchase-money, of nine millions of thalers, two hundred thousand of which went into the pockets of the Jesuits, whose agency brought the negotiation to a successful close.

In 1701, only a few months after the visit of the Electress Sophia to William at The Hague, the Elector of Brandenburg crowned himself, at Königsberg, by the style and title of "Frederick I., King in Prussia;" and then crowned the electress, his wife, as she knelt before him. Such is the brief history of the foundation of the kingdom of Prussia. Such a consummation had been eagerly obstructed by the knightly orders of Germany, and hotly opposed by Rome. The Pope, who had seen the old protector to Protestantism, the Elector of Saxony, abandon his trust, could not, without much vexation, witness the establishment in Germany of a new stronghold for the reformed religion, and under the more secure and influential form of a kingdom. He represented that such a Protestant kingdom would be the eternal adversary of the Catholic house of Austria, and in such representation he was not to be gainsaid. The most amusing fact connected therewith is, that the Jesuits in Austria, for the sake of a pecuniary "consideration," furthered the establishment of the Protestant monarchy which was to prove a thorn in the side of the Catholic imperial power.

Whatever cause attracted the Electress of Hanover

to Loo, she was but coldly welcomed by William, who paid her one formal visit, and then suddenly departed for England. He probably had a dread of the old and energetic lady, who was not only anxious to settle the succession in her own family, but — like the provident gentleman who bowed to the statue of Jupiter in a museum, and begged the god to bear the respect in mind, if he should ever be restored to greatness again — was also given to express such concern for the interests of the exiled family as might ensure liberal treatment from them, should they, in popular phrase, ever come to their own again.

The times, and the men of those times, were full of inconsistencies. Thus, William, who had undoubtedly first opened, as I have previously stated, negotiations with the Hanoverian family to secure their succession to a throne from which he had ejected James II., went into deep mourning, as did half England, when that exiled monarch died. The Princess Anne did the same, and yet, as queen, she projected and sanctioned the bill of attainder against the son and heir of her father; — a son whom William III. had proffered to adopt, at the peace of Ryswick!

When the old Electress of Hanover visited William at Loo, her visit may probably have had reference to a favourite project of that sovereign, — namely, the immediate succession of the electress to the throne, on his demise, to the exclusion of the Princess Anne. His papers, discovered at Kensington after his decease, contained many references to this subject; and it may have been that it was because he had so

alluded to the matter, that he was reluctant to treat of it verbally. The report was certainly current at the time, that among the defunct king's papers was a written recommendation, or what might be interpreted as such, to invite the Electress of Hanover and her son to take possession of the throne of England immediately after his death. Pamphlets were published in defence of the queen's rights, against such a recommendation of exclusion. The government, indeed, declared that the report of the intended exclusion was false and groundless; which may have been the case, without affecting the request that a hint for such a course had really been found in the papers of the deceased king.

When the accession of Anne brought the husband of Sophia Dorothea one step nearer to the throne of England, there expired a law which was one of the most singular in connection with the law of taxation; and the singularity alone of which authorises me to make mention of it here. In April, 1695, this law had been passed, under the title of an act for granting to his Majesty certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, and upon bachelors and widowers, "for the carrying on the war against France with vigour." By the graduated scale of this law, which commenced with the deaths, a duke or duchess could not die without paying £50 sterling for the enjoyment of the luxury. It would be more correct, perhaps, to say that the heir could not administer till such impost had been paid. A marquis could depart at a diminished cost of £40; while an earl was decreed as worth only £5 less than a marquis, and his decease brought into the

treasury the sum of £35. The scale descended till it included "every gentleman, or so reputed, or his wife, 20s.," and also, "every person having a real estate of £50 per annum, or in personal estate £600, to pay 20s., and for his wife 10s." Nobody was forgotten in this scale. No class was passed over, as the town of Berwick was when the old property tax was laid on, — an omission which the indignant town on the Tweed resented as an insult gross and undeserved.

A similar scale affected the births: a duke (or an archbishop, who throughout the scale ranked as a duke) having a first son born to him, was mulcted of £50 for the honour; while the commonest citizen could not legally be a father, at less cost in taxation than "10s. for every son and daughter." And so again with marriages: a ducal knot carried with it the usual dignified £50 to the treasury; and the scale ran gradually down till the marriage tax embraced "every person else that did not receive alms," on whom a levy was made of half a crown to the king, in addition to what was expected by the minister.

It is an ordinary policy to tax luxuries only; but under this law every condition of life was set down as a luxury. It was right, perhaps, to set down marriage as a luxury, for it is intended to be so; and where such is not the case, the fault lies in the parties who are too self-willed to allow it to be an enjoyment. Bachelors and widowers probably paid the impost with decent cheerfulness. Death, as an undoubted luxury, both to the patient and to the heir who profited by it, might also be fairly placed under the operation of this law. The cruelty in the

enactment consisted in the rate put upon births. It was not misery enough that a man should be born, but that his welcome should be put in jeopardy by his coming in company with the tax-gatherer. I can fancy Mr. Shandy having much to say upon this particular point; and the law is certainly obnoxious to much Shandean observation. The most seriously cruel portion of this law was that, however, which affected a class of persons who could ill afford to be so smitten as this enactment thus smote them. Not only was every person who did not receive alms compelled to pay one penny per week, but one farthing per week, in the pound, was levied on all servants receiving wages amounting to £4 per annum. "Those," says Smollett, "who received from £8 to £16, paid one halfpenny in the pound per week." The hard-working recipients of these modest earnings, therefore, paid a very serious contribution in order that the war with France might be carried on with vigour.

To return from this digression to the electoral family and the question of the succession to the crown of England, it may be observed, that on the question as to whether the Electress Sophia, and the husband of the imprisoned Sophia Dorothea, sanctioned an agitation of their interests in England, so as to give a continued uneasiness to the queen, much is to be said on both sides. Miss Strickland, in her picturesque and able "*Life of Queen Anne*," very zealously essays to prove that the Electress Sophia was unexceptionable and disinterested as to her conduct. The historian just named cites from the journal of the lord-keeper, Cowper, what that

lady states to be the official answer of the princess to all the invitations which had been agitated by the Hanoverian Tories during the year 1704 and the succeeding summer. "At the queen's Cabinet Council, Sunday, November 11, 1705, foreign letters read in her Majesty's presence, the substance remarkable, that at Hanover was a person, agent to the discontented party here, to invite over the Princess Sophia and the electoral prince (afterward George II.) into England, assuring them that a party here was ready to propose it. That the Princess Sophia had caused the same person to be acquainted, 'that she judged the message came from such as were enemies to her family; that she would never hearken to such a proposal, but when it came from the Queen of England herself;' and withal she had discouraged the attempt so much that it was believed nothing more could be said in it." "The moderate and humane conduct of the Princess Sophia," adds Miss Strickland, — "conduct which the irrefragable evidence of events proved was sincere and true, did not mollify the burning jealousy of Queen Anne. If we may believe the correspondence of the Jacobite writer, Doctor Davenant, angry letters were written by Queen Anne to the Princess Sophia, who, knowing how little she had deserved them, and being of a high spirit, retorted with displeasure, yet did not alter the intrinsic integrity of her conduct. The Duchess of Marlborough was reckless in her abuse of the Protestant heiress; and it is certain, by her letters, that she worked on the mind of the queen with all her might, to keep up her jealousy and alarm, regarding the advancement of her high-minded cousin, Sophia. A running fit of angry

correspondence was actually kept up between the queen and the Princess Sophia, from March 5, 1705. It was increased at every violent political agitation, until we shall see the scene of this world's glory close almost simultaneously on both the royal kinswomen."

The truth is that Sophia, who was naturally reluctant to come to England upon a mere popular or partisan invitation, would gladly have come on the bidding of the queen. This was never given, and hence the angry correspondence. It is said that not only Anne, but that Sophia herself, would have sacrificed the interests of the house of Hanover, and would have secured the succession to the son of James II., if the latter would have consented to profess the Protestant religion. The queen and electress were perfectly safe in consenting to such a sacrifice on such a stipulation, for they might have been perfectly sure that it would never be listened to. Then again, much has been said about the disinterestedness of the electress, and of George Louis, when the rejected Whig ministry, toward the end of Anne's reign, wrote a letter to Marlborough, yet in command of the army abroad, offering to seize the queen and proclaim the Electress of Hanover as regent, if Marlborough could bring over a force upon which he could depend, to support them. Marlborough is declared to have described such a project as one of rank insanity; and it is stated that Sophia contented herself with recommending her son to the consideration of the actual ministry. This proves nothing more, either for mother or son, than that at a period when the health of Anne was failing,

they were very prudently contented to wait for an inheritance which every day brought nearer to their grasp, from which any day it might be snatched by popular commotion.

In one year, the queen sent a request to the electress to aid her in promoting the peace of Europe, and a present to her goddaughter Anne, the first child of George Augustus and Caroline of Anspach. Earl Rivers carried both letter and present. The letter was acknowledged with cold courtesy by the electress, in a communication to the Earl of Strafford, secretary of state. The communication bears date Nov. 11, 1711; and, after saying that the gift is infinitely esteemed, the electress adds: "I would not, however, give my parchment for it, since that will be an everlasting monument in the archives of Hanover, and the present for the little princess will go, when she is grown up, into another family." It is suggested that by "my parchment" is meant the queen's letter to the electress, but the letter was a letter and nothing more. It was no commission, and is not likely to have been engrossed. The word "parchment," it is much more probable, had reference to the Act of Succession, which certainly was, and remains, "an everlasting monument in the archives of Hanover."

When the daughter of Sophia Dorothea married the Prince of Prussia, the young married couple repaired to Brussels, in the hope of receiving an invitation to England from Queen Anne. They waited in vain, and returned without being noticed at all. There was something more than mere jealousy in this conduct of the British queen, and the

angry allusions in the correspondence of Anne and Sophia tend to prove this; for though the latter may not have been, and probably was not, intriguing against the peace of the queen, she was desirous that the electoral prince should visit the country, while Anne was as determined that he should not come, if she and her ministry could prevent it.

Early in 1714, Anne addressed a powerful remonstrance to the aged electress, complaining that ever since the Act of Succession had been settled, there had been a constant agitation, the object of which was to bring over a prince of the Hanoverian house to reside in England, even during the writer's life. She accuses the electress of having come, though perhaps tardily, into this sentiment, which had its origin in political pretensions, and she adds that, if persevered in, it may end in consequences dangerous to the succession itself, "which is not secure any other ways than as the princess, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative." The royal writer makes a strong appeal to the feelings and loyalty of the dowager-electress, adding such expressions of confidence in her good intentions as courteous people are apt to express to persons in whom they do not fully trust, and whom they would not altogether offend.

Nor was she satisfied with this alone. Her Majesty addressed a second letter to George Augustus, as Duke of Cambridge, impartially expressing her thoughts with respect to the design he had of coming into her kingdom. After a rotundity of paraphrase, which is anything but Ciceronian, she says, "I should tell you, nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of

my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and consequently most disagreeable to me."

These letters undoubtedly helped to kill the proud dowager-electress, although it is said of her that "that illustrious lady had experienced too many changes of capricious fortune in her youth, to be slain with a few capricious words." The conclusion is illogical, and the terms incorrect. The words were not capricious, they were solemn, sober truth; and they thwarted her in one of her great desires. She would have been glad to see the son of the electress take his place in the House of Peers as Duke of Cambridge; and her not unnatural ambition is manifest in the words, that "she cared not when she died, if on her tomb could be recorded that she was Queen of Great Britain and Ireland." These words are said to have given great offence to Queen Anne; and some profit to Tom d'Urfey, who, standing at her Majesty's sideboard, during the queen's dessert, after her three o'clock dinner, received, it is said, "a fee of £50 for a stanza which he composed soon after Queen Anne's refusal to invite the Elector of Hanover's son, for the purpose of taking his place as Duke of Cambridge in the House of Peers." Here is a verse of the doggerel which delighted the monarch, and brought guerdon to the minstrel.

"The crown's far too weighty
For shoulders of eighty;
She could not sustain such a trophy.
Her hand, too, already
Has grown so unsteady,
She can't hold a sceptre;—
So Providence kept her
Away, poor old dowager Sophy!"

There is evidence that the last letters of Anne really had something to do with the death of the electress. They had hardly been received and read, when her health, which certainly had been for some time failing, grew worse. She rallied, however, for a time, and was able to take exercise, but the blow had been given from which she never recovered.

Molyneux, an agent of the Duke of Marlborough, at Hanover, says he was on his way to the country palace of the electress, when he was suddenly informed that she had been seized with mortal illness in one of the garden-walks.

"I ran up there, and found her fast expiring in the arms of the poor electoral princess (Caroline, afterward queen of George II.) and amidst the tears of a great many of her servants, who endeavoured in vain to help her. I can give you no account of her illness, but that I believe the chagrin of those villainous letters I sent you last post has been in a great measure the cause of it. The rheingravine, who has been with her these fifteen years, has told me she never knew anything make so deep an impression on her, as the affair of the prince's journey, which I am sure she had to the last degree at heart, and she has done me the honour to tell me so twenty times. In the midst of this, however, these letters arrived, and these, I verily believe, have broken her heart, and brought her with sorrow to the grave. The letters were delivered on Wednesday at seven.

"When I came to court she was at cards, but was so full of these letters that she got up and ordered me to follow her into the garden, where she gave them to me to read, and walked, and spoke a great

deal in relation to them. I believe she walked three hours that night. The next morning, which was Thursday, I heard that she was out of order, and on going immediately to court, she ordered me to be called into her bedchamber. She gave me the letters I sent you to copy; she bade me send them next post, and bring them afterward to her to court. This was on Friday. In the morning, on Friday, they told me she was very well, but seemed much chagrined. She was dressed, and dined with the elector as usual. At four, she did me the honour to send to town for some other copies of the same letters; and then she was still perfectly well. She walked and talked very heartily in the orangery. After that, about six, she went out to walk in the garden, and was still very well. A shower of rain came, and, as she was walking pretty fast to get to shelter, they told her she was walking a little too fast. She answered, 'I believe I do,' and dropped down on saying these words, which were her last. They raised her up, chafed her with spirits, tried to bleed her; but it was all in vain, and when I came up, she was as dead as if she been four days so."¹

Such was the end, on June 10, 1714, of a very remarkable woman; a woman who bore with more complacency than any other trial, that indeed which was scarcely a trial to her at all,—the infidelities of her husband. For the honour of that husband she herself was exceedingly jealous. This was exhibited on more than one occasion.

William III. once showed his gratitude to the Duke of Zell for political services rendered in cab-

¹ Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

inet or field, by conferring on him the Order of the Garter. This favour, however, rendered the Electress Sophia furious. She could bear complacently the infidelities and the neglect of her husband, but her mind, full of reverence for etiquette, propriety, and the fitness of things, as set down by the masters of ceremonies, could not tolerate that a younger brother should wear a distinction which, so far as it went, elevated him above the elder branch of his house.

The astute lady affected to be unable to comprehend the reason for thus passing over her husband. The reason, perhaps, was that in principle she herself was a thorough Jacobite, and that Jacobite principles influenced the elder branch of a family which, nevertheless, was not without some hopes of rising to a throne through a popular and national triumph over these very principles.

The electress, it may be added, oscillated very actively between two extremes, and endeavoured to maintain friendship with both parties. She corresponded with the dethroned James at St. Germain's, and she wrote very affectionate letters to his daughter Mary, who, in succeeding him in the palace from which he had fled, rolled herself over the cushions, on which he had so lately sat, in frolicsome but unfilial delight. Her letters to Anne were marked by more ceremony than those addressed to Mary, and for this reason: she respected the latter as a clever woman, but for Anne she had a contempt, ill concealed, and a very thin cloak of civility, — deeming her to be destitute of ability, and unendowed with personal qualities to compensate for the

defect. She had little more respect for Anne's father than she had for Anne herself, but in the former case she hid her want of attachment beneath a greater weight of ceremony.

But if she loved neither king nor queen in England, she had a strong feeling, or at least declared she had, in favour of the country itself. She used to speak of Great Britain as being her own native land, and expressed a wish that she might be buried beside her mother in Westminster Abbey. It is doubtful whether this expression was founded on affection or ambition, for, as we have before stated, she declared she could die happy, were she so to die as to warrant her tomb being distinguished by the inscription, "Here lies Sophia, Queen of England."

"It is my own country," she used to say; and she told Lord Dartmouth, when the latter was sojourning at Hanover, that she had once, in her younger days, been on the point of becoming Queen of England, by a marriage which was said to have been projected between her and Charles II. She added, in her coarse way, that England would have profited by such a marriage, for her numerous children would have rendered, as she suggested, a disputed succession less complicated, — a conclusion which was by no means logically arrived at, for in England she might not have been the prolific mother she was in Germany; and, moreover, of that German family, the half went over to that faith, the following of which rendered them ineligible to the crown of Great Britain.

None knew better than the electress dowager on what basis her claims rested. If she neither openly

nor privately agitated the question, she was not indifferent as to its consequences ; and though anxious, she was quiet ; and was quiet because she was in reality sincere. In a letter, written by the electress on this very subject, and quoted by Miss Benger in her life of the mother of the electress, there is the following passage : " I find all the fine speeches too strong ; they are only fit to amuse the lower orders, for the comparing the Prince of Wales with Perkin is too strong. And it is not he who could by right deprive me of the crown. If a Catholic king could not succeed, the crown is mine by right. Without that, there are many nearer to the succession than I am. So, I do not like that the Prince of Wales should be called bastard ; for I love the truth."

CHAPTER XI.

AHLDEN AND ENGLAND

The Neglected Captive of Ahlden — Unnoticed by Her Son-in-law, Except to Secure Her Property — Madame von Schulemberg — The Queen of Prussia Prohibited from Corresponding with Her Imprisoned Mother — The Captive Betrayed by Count de Bar — Death of Queen Anne — Anxiety Felt for the Arrival of King George — The Duke of Marlborough's Entry — Funeral of the Queen — Public Entry of the King — Adulation of Doctor Young — Madame Kielmansegge, the New Royal Favourite — Horace Walpole's Account of Her — "A Hanover Garland" — Ned Ward, the Tory Poet — Expression of the Public Opinion — The Duchess of Kendal Bribed by Lord Bolingbroke — Bribery and Corruption General — Abhorrence of Parade by the King.

DURING marriage festivals and court fêtes held to celebrate some step in greatness, Sophia Dorothea continued to vegetate in Ahlden. She was politically dead; and even in the domestic occurrences of her family, events in which a mother might be gracefully allowed to have a part, she enjoyed no share. The marriages of her children, and the births of their children, were not officially communicated to her. She was left to learn them through chance or the courtesy of individuals.

Her daughter was now the second Queen of Prussia, but the king cared not to exercise his influence in behalf of his unfortunate mother-in-law. Not that he was unconcerned with respect to her. His con-

sort was heiress to property over which her mother had control, and Frederick was not tranquil of mind until this property had been secured as the indisputable inheritance of his wife. He was earnest enough in his correspondence with Sophia Dorothea, until this consummation was arrived at; and when he held the writings which secured the succession of certain portions of the property of the duchess on his consort, he ceased to trouble himself further with any question connected with the unfortunate prisoner; except, indeed, that he forbade his wife to hold any further intercourse with her mother, by letter, or otherwise. This prohibition was by far too obediently observed, and Sophia Dorothea was in this much like old King Lear, that by endowing a daughter she lost a child.

Few and trivial are the incidents told of her long captivity. The latter had been embittered in 1703, by the knowledge that Mlle. von Schulemberg was the mother of another daughter, Margaret Gertrude, of whom the elector was the father. This child, of whom little is known, but of whom we shall have to speak in a future reign, was ten years younger than her sister, Petronilla Melusina, who subsequently figured at the court of George II. as Countess of Walsingham, and who, as the careless and uncared-for wife of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, gave, nevertheless, very considerable trouble to that celebrated personage, who had the spirit to be a patriot, and the tact to be a gentleman, but who had neither the tact nor the principle to be a Christian. In the latter respect, the parties were, for a time at least, not ill-matched.

Previous to the prohibition laid on his wife by the King of Prussia, an epistolary intercourse had been privately maintained between the prisoner and her daughter. Such intercourse had never received the king's sanction ; and when it came to his knowledge, at the period of the settlement of part of the maternal property on the daughter, he peremptorily ordered its cessation. It had been maintained chiefly by means of a Chevalier de Bar ; Ludwig, a privy counsellor at Berlin ; Frederick, a page of the queen's ; and a bailiff of the castle of Ahlden. There were too many confederates in a matter so simple, and the whole of them betrayed the poor lady, for whom they professed to act. The most important agent was the chevalier : in him the duchess confided longest, and in his want of faith she was the last to believe. He had introduced himself to her by sending her presents of snuff, no unusual present to a lady in those days, — though it is pretended that these gifts bore a peculiar signification, known only to the donor and the recipient. They probably had less meaning than the presents forwarded to her by her daughter, consisting now of her portrait, another time of a watch, or some other trinket, which served to pass a letter with it, in which were filial injunctions to the poor mother to be patient and resigned, and to put no trust in the Count de Bar.

The prisoner did not heed the counsel, but continued to confide in a man who was prodigal of promise, and traitorous of performance. Her hopes were fixed upon escaping, but they were foiled by the watchfulness of noble spies, who exultingly told her that her husband was a king. And it is asserted that

she might have been a recognised queen if she would but have confessed that she had failed in obedience toward her husband. It is certain that a renewed, but it may not have been an honest, attempt at reconciliation was made just previous to the accession of George I., but the old reply fell from the prisoner's lips: "If I am guilty, I am not worthy of him: if I am innocent, he is not worthy of me."

I have already noticed the death of the Electress Sophia, and the causes of that death, — in 1714. It was followed very shortly after by the demise of Queen Anne. This event had taken all parties somewhat by surprise. They stood face to face, as it were, over the dying queen. The Jacobites were longing for her to name her brother as her successor, whom they would have proclaimed at once at the head of the army. The Hanoverian party were feverish with fears and anticipations, but they had the regency dressed up, and ready in the background, and Secretary Craggs, booted and spurred, was making such haste as could then be made, on his road to Hanover, to summon King George. The Jacobite portion of the cabinet was individually bold in resolving what ought to be done, but they were, bodily, afraid of the responsibility of doing it. Each man of each faction had his king's name ready upon his lips, awaiting only that the lethargy of the queen should be succeeded by irretrievable death, to give it joyful utterance. Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714; the Jacobites drew a breath of hesitation; and in the meantime, the active Whigs instantly proclaimed King George, gave Addison the mission of announcing the demise of one sovereign to another, who was

that sovereign's successor, and left the Jacobites to their vexation, and their threatened redress.

Lord Berkley was sent with the fleet to Orange Polder, in Holland, there to bring over the new king, but Craggs had not only taken a very long time to carry his invitation to the monarch, but the husband of Sophia, when he received it, showed no hot haste to take advantage thereof. The Earl of Dorset was despatched over to press his immediate coming, on the ground of the affectionate impatience of his new subjects. The king was no more moved thereby than he was by the first announcement of Lord Clarendon, the English ambassador, at Hanover. On the night of the 5th of August, that envoy had received an express, announcing the demise of the queen. At two o'clock in the morning he hastened with what he supposed the joyful intelligence to Herrnhausen, and caused George Louis to be aroused, that he might be the first to salute him as king. The new monarch yawned, expressed himself vexed, and went to sleep again as calmly as any serene highness. In the morning, some one delicately hinted, as if to encourage the husband of Sophia Dorothea in staying where he was, that the presbyterian party in England was a dangerous regicidal party. "Not so," said George, who seemed to be satisfied that there was no peril in the new greatness; "Not so; I have nothing to fear from the king-killers; they are all on my side." But still he tarried; one day decreeing the abolition of the excise, the next ordering, like King Arthur in Fielding's tragedy, all the insolvent debtors to be released from prison. While thus engaged, London was busy with various pleasant occupations.

On the 3d of August, the late queen was opened ; and on the following day her bowels were buried, with as much ceremony as they deserved, in Westminster Abbey. The day subsequent to this ceremony, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been in voluntary exile abroad, and whose office in command of the imperial arms had been held for a short time, and not discredibly, by George Louis, made a triumphant entry into London. The triumph, however, was marred by the sudden breaking down of his coach at Temple Bar, — an accident ominous of his not again rising to power. The Lords and Commons then sent renewed assurances of loyalty to Hanover, and renewed prayers that the lord there would doff his electoral cap, and come and try his kingly crown. To quicken this, the Lower House, on the tenth, voted him the same revenues the late queen had enjoyed, — excepting those arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which were, by law, invested in the Prince of Wales. On the 13th, Craggs arrived in town to herald the king's coming ; and on the 14th, the Hanoverian party were delighted to hear that on the Pretender repairing from Louvain to Versailles, to implore of Louis to acknowledge him publicly as king, the French monarch had pleaded, in bar, his engagements with the house of Hanover, and that thereon the Pretender had returned dispirited to Louvain. On the 24th of the month, the late queen's body was privately buried in Westminster Abbey, by order of her successor, who appeared to have a dread of finding the old lady of his young love yet upon the earth. This order was followed by another, which ejected from their places many officials who had hoped to retain

them,—and chief of these was Bolingbroke. London then became excited at hearing that the king had arrived at The Hague on the 5th of September. It was calculated that the nearer he got to his kingdom, the more accelerated would be his speed ; but George was not to be hurried. Madame Kielmansegge, who shared what was called his regard with Mlle. von Schulemberg, had been retarded in her departure from Hanover by the heaviness of her debts. The daughter of the Countess von Platen would not have been worthy of her mother, had she suffered herself to be long detained by such a trifle. She, accordingly, gave her creditors the slip, set off to Holland, and was received with a heavy sort of delight, by the king. The exemplary couple tarried alone a week at The Hague ; and on the 16th September, George and his retinue set sail for England. Between that day and the day of his arrival at Greenwich, the heads of the regency were busy in issuing decrees, — now it was for the prohibition of fireworks on the day of his Majesty's entry ; next, against the admission of unprivileged carriages into Greenwich Park on the king's arrival ; and, lastly, one promising £100,000 to any loyal subject who might be lucky enough to catch the Pretender in England, and who would bring him a prisoner to London.

On the 18th of September, the king landed at Greenwich ; and on the two following days, while he sojourned there, he was waited on by various officials, who went smiling to the foot of the throne, and came away frowning at the cold treatment they received there. They who thought themselves the most secure endured the most disgraceful falls,

especially the Duke of Ormond, who, as captain-general, had been three parts inclined to proclaim the Pretender. He repaired in gorgeous array to do homage to King George ; but the king would only receive his staff of office, and would not see the ex-bearer of it ; who returned home with one dignity the less, and for George one enemy the more.

The public entry into London on the 20th was splendid, and so was the court holden at St. James's on the following day. A lively incident, however, marked the proceedings of this first court. Colonel Chudleigh, in the crowd, branded Mr. Allworth, M. P. for New Windsor, as a Jacobite ; whereupon they both left the palace, went in a coach to Marylebone Fields, and there fought a duel, in which Mr. Allworth was killed on the spot. This was the first libation of blood offered to the king.

Were it not that we know how much more intensely the poets love the Muses than they care for truth, we might be puzzled in our endeavours to reconcile the rhyming records of England's welcome to George I. with the narrations given in simple prose by eye-witnesses of the incidents which they narrate.

No poet deplored — that is, no poet affected to deplore — the decease of Anne, with such profundity of jingling grief, as Young. He had not then achieved a name, and he was eagerly desirous to build up a fortune. His threnodia on the death of Queen Anne is a fine piece of measured maudlin ; but the author appears to have bethought himself, before he had expended half his stock of sorrows, that there would be more profit in welcoming a living than bewailing

a defunct monarch. Accordingly, wiping up his tears, and arraying his face in the blandest of smiles, he thus falls to the double task of recording the reception of George, and registering his merits. He first, however, apologetically states, as his warrant for turning from weeping for Anne to cheering for George, that all the sorrow in the world cannot reverse doom, that groans cannot "unlock th' inexorable tomb;" that a fond indulgence of woe is sad folly, for, from such a course, he exclaims, with a fine eye to a poet's profit, —

"What fruit can rise or what advantage flow!"

So, turning his face from the tomb of Anne to the throne of George, he grandiosely waves his hat, and thus he sings:

"Welcome, great stranger, to Britannia's throne!
Nor let thy country think thee all her own.
Of thy delay how oft did we complain!
Our hope reach'd out and met thee on the main.
With pray'r we smooth the billows for thy feet,
With ardent wishes fill thy swelling sheet;
And when thy foot took place on Albion's shore,
We, bending, bless'd the gods and ask'd no more!
What hand but thine should conquer and compose,
Join those whom interest joins, and chase our foes,
Repel the daring youth's presumptuous aim,
And by his rival's greatness give him fame?
Now, in some foreign court he may sit down,
And quit without a blush the British crown;
Secure his honour, though he lose his store,
And take a lucky moment to be poor."

This sneer at the Pretender is as contemptible as the flattery of George is gross; and the picture

of an entire nation on its knees, blessing Olympus, and bidding the gods to restrain all further gifts, is as magnificent a mixture of bombast and blasphemy as ever was made up by venal poet. But here is more of it :

“ Nor think, great sir, now first at this late hour,
In Britain's favour you exert your power.
To us, far back in time, I joy to trace
The numerous tokens of your princely grace ;
Whether you chose to thunder on the Rhine,
Inspire grave councils, or in courts to shine,
In the more scenes your genius was display'd,
The greater debt was on Britannia laid :
They all conspir'd this mighty man to raise,
And your new subjects proudly share the praise.”

Such is the record of a rhymers : Walpole, in plain and truthful prose, tells a very different story. He informs us, that the London mob — no Jacobites, be it remembered, but, to paraphrase Nell Gwynne's celebrated phrase, “a good Protestant mob” — were highly diverted at the importation by the king of his uncommon seraglio of ugly women. “They were food,” he says, “for all the venom of the Jacobites,” and so far from Britain thanking him for coming himself, or for bringing with him these numerous tokens of his princely grace, “nothing could be grosser than the ribaldry vomited out in lampoons, libels, and every channel of abuse, against the sovereign and the new court, and chanted even in their hearing about the public streets.”

As for the great balance of debt which Young struck against poor Britannia for the outlay of genius

on the part of George, the creditor did not fail to exact payment, with a large amount of compound interest, both out of the national purse and the national peerage. Mlle. von Schulemberg was created Duchess of Kendal. "The younger Mlle. von Schulemberg, who came over with her, and was created Countess of Walsingham, passed for her niece, but was so like the king, that it is not very credible that the duchess, who had affected to pass for cruel, had waited for the left-handed marriage." Lady Walsingham, as previously said, was afterward married to the celebrated Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.

To the Duchess of Kendal — George (who was so shocked at the infidelity of which his wife was alleged to be guilty) was to the mistress as inconstant as to the wife he had been untrue. He set aside the former, to put in her place Madame Kielmansegge, called, like her mother, Countess von Platen. On the death of her husband in 1721, he raised her to the rank of Countess of Leinster in Ireland, Countess of Darlington and Baroness of Brentford in England. Coxe says of her, that her power over the king was not equal to that of the Duchess of Kendal, but her character for rapacity was not inferior. Horace Walpole has graphically portrayed Lady Darlington in the following passage :

"Lady Darlington, whom I saw at my mother's in my infancy, and whom I remember by being terrified at her enormous figure, was as corpulent and ample as the duchess was long and emaciated. The fierce black eyes, large, and rolling beneath two lofty arched eyebrows, two acres of cheeks spread with crimson, an ocean of neck that overflowed, and was not distin-

guished from, the lower part of her body, and no part restrained by stays — no wonder that a child dreaded such an ogress."

But Parnassus itself was far from being unanimous in welcoming the first king of the house of Brunswick. The Jacobite lyrists mounted Pegasus, and made him kick rather menacingly against the Hanoverian succession. The Hanover poets, indeed, were the first in the field. Thus, Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714, and six days afterward the violent Whig *Flying Post* suppressed its columns of intelligence in order to make room for piles of political poetry. Among the rest was "A Hanover Garland," in which the following flower of poetry was wreathed:

"Keep out, keep out H(anover)'s line,
'Tis only J(ame)s has right divine,
So Romish parsons cant and whine,
And sure we must believe them.
But if their prince can't come in peace
Their stock will every day decrease,
And they will ne'er see Perkin's face,
So their false hopes deceive them."

Against these tilters the first Tory poet who appeared in the field was Ned Ward, the publican, who took advantage of the public return of the Duke of Marlborough from his voluntary exile, to ridicule the circumstance, and the parties engaged in the procession, as seditious and republican in character. Ned satirised the "Low-church elders," and added, against the Whig mercantile community:

"Next these who, like to blazing stars,
Portend domestic feuds and wars,
Came managers and bank-directors,
King-killers, monarchy-electors,

And votaries for lord-protectors,
That, had old subtle Satan spread
His net o'er all the cavalcade,
He might at one surprising pull
Have fill'd his lower dominion full —
Of atheists, rebels, Whigs, and traitors,
Reforming knaves and regulators ;
And eased at once this land of more
And greater plagues than Egypt bore."

The mob had a strong Tory leaven at this time, and among the multitude circulated a mass of broadsides and ballads, of so openly a seditious character, that the power of the law was stringently applied to suppress the evil. Before the year was out, half the provincial towns in England were infected with seditious sentiments against the Whig government, which had brought in a king whose way of life was a scandal to them. This feeling of contempt for both king and government was wide as well as deep, and it was so craftily made use of by the leaders of public opinion, that before George had been three months upon the throne, the "High-church rabble," as the Tory party was called, in various country towns, were violent in their proceedings against the government ; and at Axminster, in Devonshire, shouted for the Pretender, and drank his health as King of England. The conduct of George to his wife, Sophia Dorothea, was as satirically dealt with, in the way of censure, as any of his delinquencies, and his character as a husband was not forgotten in the yearly tumults of his time, which broke out on every recurring anniversary of Queen Anne's birthday (the 23d of April), to the end of his reign.

If the new king was dissatisfied with his new sub-

jects, he liked as little the manners of England. "This is a strange country," said his Majesty: "the first morning after my arrival at St. James's, I looked out of the window, and saw a park, with walks, a canal, and so forth, which they told me were mine. The next day, Lord Chetwynd, the ranger of my park, sent me a fine brace of carp out of my canal, and I was told that I must give five guineas to Lord Chetwynd's servant, for bringing me my own carp, out of my own canal, in my own park!"

The monarch's mistresses loved as much to receive money as the king himself loved little to part from it. The Duchess of Kendal's rapacity has been mentioned: one instance of it is mentioned by Coxe, on the authority of Sir Robert Walpole, to the effect that "the restoration of Lord Bolingbroke was the work of the Duchess of Kendal. He gained the duchess by a present of £11,000, and obtained a promise to use her influence over the king for the purpose of forwarding his complete restoration." Horace Walpole states that the duchess was no friend of Sir Robert, and wished to make Lord Bolingbroke minister in his room. The rapacious mistress was jealous of Sir Robert's credit with the monarch. Monarch and minister transacted business through the medium of indifferent Latin; the king not being able to speak English, and Sir Robert, like a country gentleman of England, knowing nothing of either German or French. "It was much talked of," says the lively writer of the reminiscences of the courts of the first two Georges, "that Sir Robert, detecting one of the Hanoverian ministers in some trick or falsehood before the king's face, had the firm-

ness to say to the German, '*Mentiris impudentissime!*' The good-humoured monarch only laughed, as he often did when Sir Robert complained to him of his Hanoverians selling places, nor would be persuaded that it was not the practice of the English court." The singularity of this complaint is, that it was made by a minister who was notorious for complacently saying that "Every man in the House of Commons had his price."

The king laughed, simply because he loved to lead an untroubled life. The parade of royalty was abhorrent to him, solely on the same account. To the theatre he went in no state; "nor did he sit in the stage-box, nor forward, but behind the Duchess of Kendal and Lady Walsingham, in the second box, afterward allotted to the maids of honour." This spectacle must have been edifying to the "house," yet one not likely to induce love or loyalty for the house of Brunswick, as then represented. A king living in open violation of God's commandments, coldly calling on his people to witness the uncleanness of his sin, and at the same time shutting up his wife in close captivity, for no better reason, apparently, than that her temper was incompatible with his, — which was likely enough, — was surely a sight to perplex those very gods to whom, Young said, all Britain bent in humble thankfulness for such a blessing. I can fancy Dan Mercury looking down upon such a sight, and exclaiming, as he saw the jumbling of triumphs for the unrighteous, oppression for the innocent, and praise offered by the vain to the wicked, that in this lower world, as Stephen Blackpool has since remarked, "it was all muddle!"

CHAPTER XII.

CROWN AND GRAVE

Arrival of Caroline, Princess of Wales — The King Dines at the Guildhall — Proclamation of the Pretender — Counter-proclamations — Government Prosecutions — A Mutiny among the Troops — Impeachment of the Duke of Ormond of High Treason — Punishment of Political Offenders — Failure of Rebellion in Scotland — Punishment for Wearing Oak-boughs — Riot at the Mug-house in Salisbury Court, and Its Fatal Consequences — The Prince of Wales Removed from the Palace — Dissensions between the King and the Prince — Attempt on the Life of King George — Marriage of the King's Illegitimate Daughter — The South Sea Bubble — Birth of Prince William, the Butcher of Culloden — Death of the Duchess of Zell — Stricter Imprisonment of the Captive of Ahlden — Her Calm Death — A New Royal Favourite, Mrs. Brett — Death of the King.

WHILE Sophia Dorothea continued to linger in her prison, her husband and son, with the mistresses of the former and the wife of the latter, were enjoying the advantages and anxieties which surround a throne. The wife of the Prince of Wales, Caroline, arrived at Margate on the 13th of October. She was accompanied by her two eldest daughters, Anne and Amelia. Mother and children rested during one day in the town where they had landed, slept one night at Rochester, and arrived at St. James's on the 15th. The royal coronation took place in Westminster Abbey on the 20th of the same month. Amid the pomp of the occasion, no one appears to have

thought of her who should have been queen consort. There was much splendour and some calamity, for as the procession was sweeping by, several people were killed by the fall of scaffolding in the Palace Yard. The new king entered the Abbey amid the cheers and screams of an excited multitude.

Three days after, the monarch, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, dined with the lord mayor and corporation in the Guildhall, London, and there George performed the first grateful service to his people, by placing a thousand guineas in the hands of the sheriffs, for the relief of the wretched debtors then immured in the neighbouring horrible prisons of Newgate and the Fleet.

Within a month, the general festivities were a little marred by the proclamation of the Pretender, dated from Lorraine, wherein he laid claim to the throne which George was declared to have usurped. At this period the Duke of Lorraine was a sovereign prince, maintaining an envoy at our court; but the latter was ordered to withdraw from the country immediately after the arrival of the "Lorraine proclamation," by the French mail. Already George I. began to feel that on the throne he was destined to enjoy less quiet than his consort in her prison.

The counter-proclamations made in this country, chiefly on account of the Jacobite riots at Oxford and some other places, were made up of nonsense and malignity, and were well calculated to make a good cause wear the semblance of a bad one. They decreed, or announced, thanksgiving on the 20th of January, for the accession of the house of Hanover; and, to show what a portion of the people had to be

thankful for, they ordered a rigorous execution of the laws against papists, nonjurors, and dissenters generally, who were assumed to be, as a matter of course, disaffected to the reigning house.

The government was earnest in its intentions. Vine, a comedian, was prosecuted for a libel contained in his "Reasons humbly offered to the Parliament for abrogating the observation of the 30th of January." But this was an innocent libel enough, compared with others such as that of Hornby's, in his "Advice to the Freethinkers of England," in which it was affirmed that the Whig government would overturn the constitution in Church and state, alter the law of limitations in the power of the Crown, establish a standing army, crush public liberty, and "encourage the people to abuse the memory of good Queen Anne." A reward of a thousand pounds was conferred on the discoverer of the author of this libel. Some of its assertions appeared, however, to be justified in the king's first proclamation for electing a new Parliament. In this document his Majesty charged the late House of Commons with being Jacobitical, and desired his subjects to elect men of an opposite tendency. His desire was tolerably well obeyed; but when the king told the new Parliament that the public debt had increased in peace, and diminished during war,—and when the Commons, in their address, encouraged the monarch in his warlike propensities,—the freethinkers were more obstinate than ever in their opinion that liberty was doomed to die beneath the heels of a standing army.

Not that much pains could be said to have been taken by the government to conciliate the army.

On the first anniversary of the king's birthday, the 28th of May, the First Regiment of Guards, and divisions of other regiments, broke out into open mutiny, on the ground that they were furnished with clothes and linen not fit to be worn on the royal birthday. The Duke of Marlborough, who had succeeded Ormond as captain-general, sallied from his house in the Mall, and made a speech to the soldiers in the park. But some of the men stripped off their jackets and shirts, and flung them over the wall of the duke's garden and of that behind St. James's Palace, while others, hoisting the linen garments on poles, paraded them about the streets, exclaiming, "Look at our Hanover shirts!" Reparation was promised, the army agents and tradesmen were blamed, and the men were enjoined to burn clothes and shirts in front of Whitehall, — an order which they obeyed with alacrity. Amid it all, the little Princess Caroline, youngest daughter of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who had arrived only two days before in London, took her first drive in public. Her little Highness must have been startled at the contrast between the noisy metropolis and the quiet city of Hanover; the streets of the latter all tranquillity, those of the former full of prostrate Whigs, knocked down by strong-armed Tories for refusing to join in the shout of "High Church and the Duke of Ormond."

The duke gained little by his popularity, for he, in common with Bolingbroke and other lords, was impeached on the charge of high treason. The far-seeing eye of the king, however, looked beyond such offenders as these; and while peers and commoners

were being committed to prison, or were flying from the country, a poor cobbler was whipped from Holloway to Highgate for no more grievous offence than reflecting upon certain measures of the government. The University of Oxford was as free of thought, act, and expression as the cobbler of Holloway. The attainder of Ormond deprived him of his university chancellorship, whereupon King George set up the Prince of Wales as a candidate for the office. Oxford, to show its contempt for the new dynasty, rejected the prince, and chose Lord Arran, the Duke of Ormond's brother. The king was so vexed, that he wished himself back again at Hanover, and perhaps it was his vexation which prompted him, at this very time, to order an increase of rigour to be inflicted upon his poor imprisoned wife at Ahlden. Nor did he spare Oxford; whither a detachment of dragoons was sent, under the command of a major, appropriately named Pepper, who suddenly seized upon such members of the university as were suspected of being more inclined to "James the Eighth of Scotland," than to "George the First of England."

Meanwhile, less noble offenders were punished with more severity, and Tyburn tree creaked with the weight of men who had enlisted soldiers for the Pretender. At this moment the Duke of Somerset gave up his office of master of the horse, and the husband of Sophia Dorothea appointed to the vacant post the German lady Mlle. von Schulemberg, mistress of the monarch and the mews! The son of Sophia Dorothea also succeeded in obtaining office, and the rejected of the University of Oxford was elected chancellor by the University of Dublin.

In the meantime the failure of the rebellion in Scotland had given the king joy, but had not inspired him with mercy. Executions were of daily occurrence, and when the president of the council, the Earl of Nottingham, ventured to suggest that the royal prerogative of mercy was the brightest gem in a kingly crown, he was turned out of his place, and all his kinsmen who were in office were similarly treated. The king, however, granted their lives to several of the prisoners taken on the Pretender's side, but nearly the whole of them perished in prison, through the severity of the season and the want of the necessaries of life.

The first year of the accession of George was certainly not untroubled, and he, probably, with all his grandeur, was less happy than the wife whom he held in such rigorous captivity. The very heavens themselves seemed to threaten him, and we are expressly told in the journals of the time, that the year ended with dire phenomena in the sky, columns and pillars of continually flashing light carrying terror into the minds of all beholders, who, lacking simple knowledge, deemed that the heavens were not less out of joint than the earth.

In the following year the government exhibited little sense in the application of their power. The wearing of oak-boughs on the 29th of May, in memory of the restoration, was deemed an insult to the government; two soldiers were whipped (almost to death) in Hyde Park, for carrying oak-apples in their caps, and guards were posted in the streets to prevent all persons from carrying white roses, some bearers of which were, on refusal to surrender this

badge, very unceremoniously shot by the rude soldiery. The king complacently told his faithful Commons that all his money had been wasted on the Jacobite faction, and had been met by ingratitude and more active treason. The monarch's favours, however, were but inconsiderately scattered; and if the people could contemplate without regret the nomination of his brother, Ernest Augustus, to be Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster, they were rather rough of comment when he raised Mlle. von Schulemberg to the dignities of Baroness of Dundalk, Countess of Dungannon, Duchess of Munster, and, finally, Duchess of Kendal.

In contrast with these palace incidents, I may notice an incident of the streets. It is recorded by Salmon in the "Chronological Historian," under the date of July 23, 1716, and is to this effect: "The sons of Whiggism, having assembled at a mug-house in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, after they were a little elevated, ventured to attack some Tories, who were got together in the Swan ale-house, over against them, whereupon the Tories returned their visit, drove them to their headquarters, and demolished the bar, wainscot, etc., below stairs; whereupon the mug-house sent for arms and assistance, and one of the Tory men was shot dead upon the spot by the master of the mug-house, which so provoked the other side, that had not the guards come in to the assistance of the mug gentlemen, a severe revenge had probably been taken." Although the Whigs were the original aggressors, the Tories were the most severely punished; "five of them (two of whom were brothers) were convicted of felony, in not dispersing themselves

on the reading of the proclamation at the late riot, near the mug-house in Salisbury Court, and were hanged at the end of Salisbury Court, in Fleet Street, the 22d inst." (September.) A further incident worth narrating is, that the bearers at the funeral of one of these executed men, were arrested, and "fined twenty marks apiece," for "wearing their favours" in St. Bride's churchyard. The people were indignant at such oppression; and when, on the 9th of November, the Princess of Wales gave birth to a still-born son, the Tories looked upon the event as a judgment, and even hoped for the entire failure of the royal line. The king was in Hanover at the time, when he invested his brother, the Duke of York, and Prince Frederick, with the Order of the Garter. He even partook of the pleasures of the chase in the woods around Ahlden; but except ordering a more stringent rule for the safe-keeping of his consort, he took no further notice of Sophia Dorothea. He returned to London on the 18th of January, 1716-17, and on that day week, hearing that the Episcopal clergy of Scotland continued to refuse to pray for him, he issued a decree, which compelled many to fly the country, or otherwise abscond. The English clergy experienced even harsher treatment for less offence. I may mention, as an instance, the case of the Reverend Laurence Howell, who, for writing a pamphlet called "The State of Schism in the Church of England truly stated," was stripped of his gown by the executioner, fined £500, imprisoned three years, and twice publicly whipped by the hangman!

On the 2d of November, 1717, the Princess of

Wales gave birth to a son, who was christened by the name of George William, at St. James's, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 28th of the same month; the king and the Duke of Newcastle were godfathers, and the Duchess of St. Alban's god-mother. On the following day, the Prince of Wales, by order of his father, removed from St. James's, and went to reside at the house of the princess's chamberlain, the Earl of Grantham, in Arlington Street. The princess accompanied him, but their children remained at the palace.

This removal is connected with a palace incident of some interest. The Prince of Wales had wished that his uncle, the Duke of York, Bishop of Osnaburgh, should be, with the king, sponsor to his child. George I. peremptorily named the Duke of Newcastle as co-sponsor, and would hear of no other. The duke, then secretary of state, was hateful to the prince, whom he treated with studied neglect; and when the ceremony of christening had been brought to a close in the princess's bedchamber, the prince crossed from the foot of the bed where he had been standing with his wife's maids of honour, to the side of the bed where the duke was standing near the king, and there holding up his hand and forefinger menacingly, said, in broken English, "You are a rascal! but I shall find you," — meaning, "I shall find a time to be revenged." The king, affecting to understand this as a challenge to fight, placed his son under arrest; but soon releasing him therefrom, turned him out of the palace, retaining the three eldest daughters, who resided with him till his decease.

The dissensions between George I. and his son are said to have arisen long previous to the accession of the former. The respect which the prince once entertained for his mother Sophia Dorothea may have had much to do with the matter, but politics had also something to do therewith. Before the Act of Settlement, the Electress Sophia was a Jacobite in principle; "but," says Walpole, "no sooner had King William procured a settlement of the crown, after Queen Anne, on her Electoral Highness, than nobody became a stancher Whig than the Princess Sophia, nor could be more impatient to mount the throne of the exiled Stuarts. It is certain that, during the reign of Anne, the Elector George was inclined to the Tories, though after his mother's death, and his own accession, he gave himself to the opposite party. But if he and his mother espoused different factions, Sophia found a ready partisan in her grandson, the electoral prince; and it is true that the demand made by the prince of his writ of summons to the House of Lords, as Duke of Cambridge, which no wonder was so offensive to Queen Anne, was made in concert with his grandmother, without the privity of the elector his father."

To these causes of offence may be added the royal sire's jealousy, as is supposed, of his son. On the first absence of the king from England, the Prince of Wales was appointed regent, but he was never entrusted with that high office a second time. "It is probable," says Walpole, "that the son discovered too much fondness for acting the king, as that the father conceived a jealousy of his having done so. Sure it is that, on the king's return, great divisions

arose in the court, and the Whigs were divided, — some devoting themselves to the wearer of the crown, and others to the expectant." So that, in the second year of his reign, the king not only held his wife in prison, but his son and heir was banished from his presence. He even went so far as to declare to the peers and peeresses of Great Britain and Ireland, and to all privy councillors and their wives, that if any of them should go to the court of the Prince and Princess of Wales, they should forbear to come into his Majesty's presence. At the same time that this example of family division was being given to the kingdom, George I. created Prince Frederick, the eldest son of the Prince of Wales, Duke of Gloucester; and a day or two later, the little Prince George William, at whose christening the scene of violence had occurred, died at the age of three months and three days. The body was privately interred in Westminster Abbey on the 12th of February, the Bishop of Rochester reading the funeral service.

At this time the Prince of Wales had retired to the house in "Leicester Fields," which he had recently purchased. This house stood in the northeast corner of the square, and was originally built by the Earl of Leicester, father of Waller's "Sacharissa." The earl let it to persons of "condition," after ceasing to reside in it himself. There died the mother of the Electress Sophia. It was subsequently, and successively, occupied by the French and German ambassadors, and it was thence (when the Emperor of Germany's envoy resided there) that Beau Fielding procured the priest who married him privately, in Pall Mall, to Mrs. Mary Wadsworth.

About a month after the Prince of Wales had purchased Leicester House, he was nearly called upon to leave it again, for the palace, by the attempt at assassination made by a lad, named Shepherd, upon George I. This was on the 6th of March, 1717. The young assassin was only eighteen years of age, and was apprentice to a coach-painter. He looked upon the act as being so meritorious, that when Lord Chesterfield, just previous to his execution, asked what he would do if the king forgave his attempt to shoot him, the boy replied, "I would do it again." He met his fate at Tyburn without exhibiting the slightest mark of fear; and Chesterfield said of him, that "Reason declared him to be a Regulus, but that silly prejudice was against it." The most important public affair of the following year was the signing of the quadruple alliance treaty between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Holland, whereby these powers were, among other obligations, bound to support the succession to the British crown as fixed by the present law of the land.

Passing over the record of public events, the next interesting fact connected with the private life of the faithless husband of Sophia Dorothea, was the marriage of his daughter Charlotte, of whom Madame Kielmansegge (his younger mistress) was the mother, with Lord Viscount Howe (of the kingdom of Ireland). The bride was never publicly acknowledged as the daughter of the king, but the Princess Amelia, daughter of George II., "treated Lady Howe's daughter, 'Mistress Howe,' as a princess of the blood royal, and presented her with a ring, containing a small portrait of George I., with a crown in diamonds."

The best result of this marriage was, that the famous Admiral Howe was a descendant of the contracting parties, and that was the only benefit which the country derived from the vicious conduct of George I. If the marriage of the child of one mistress tended to mortify the vanity of another, as is said to have been the case with the Schulemberg, King George found a way to pacify her. That lady was already Duchess of Munster, in Ireland, and the king, in April, 1719, created her a baroness, countess, and duchess of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of Baroness of Glastonbury, Countess of Feversham, and Duchess of Kendal; and this done, the king soon after embarked at Gravesend for Hanover. It was during his absence that a Spanish invasion of Scotland, by a small force, in conjunction with a body of Highlanders, in behalf of the Pretender, was promptly suppressed by General Wightman, to whom the whole of the Spaniards, some three hundred men only, surrendered at discretion.

The year 1720 saw King George more upon the Continent than at home, where indeed universal misery reigned, in consequence of the bursting of the great South Sea bubble, which had promised such golden solidity, — which ended in such disappointment and ruin, and for furthering which the Duchess of Kendal and her daughter received bribes of £10,000 each. In April of the following year, William Augustus was born at Leicester House. The daughter of Sophia Dorothea was his godmother; her husband and the Duke of York were the godfathers. This son of George Augustus and Caroline of Anspach, Prince and Princess of Wales, was afterward

famous as the Duke of Cumberland. It was in July of this same year that the king conveyed to the House of Commons the pleasant piece of information that the debts on his civil list amounted to more than half a million. He asked that body to provide for the payment of the same, and the obsequious House did what was asked of it! No wonder that on the anniversary of the restoration, seditious oak-apples were seen in the citizens' hats; that on the 10th of June, the Pretender's birthday, white roses decorated their buttonholes; and that on the 23d of August, Queen Anne's natal day, there was much toasting of the memory of a queen who, throughout her reign, had not cost her country the blood and treasure which that country paid in any single year for her successor. It was scarcely a month after the royal request to the representatives of the people to pay the penalty of the king's extravagance, by advancing above half a million of money, when he quartered his mistress, Sophia Charlotte, Madame Kielmansegge, on the civil list of Ireland, and dignified the act by creating her Countess of Leinster!

On the 17th of January, 1721, the royal family went into mourning, and this was the only domestic incident of the reign in which Sophia Dorothea was allowed to participate. With her, the mourning was not a mere formality; it was not assumed, but was a testimony offered, in sign of her sorrow, for the death of her mother, Eleanora, Duchess of Zell. In an anonymous biography of her daughter, the duchess is said to have died on the 24th of February, 1722, but the court of St. James's went into mourning for her on the 11th of February of the preceding

year. She had seen little of her daughter for some time previous to her death, but she bequeathed to her as much of her private property as she had power to dispose of by will.

Sophia Dorothea had now a considerable amount of funds placed to her credit in the bank of Amsterdam. Of the incidents of her captivity nothing whatever is known, save that it was most rigidly maintained. She was forgotten by the world, because unseen, and they who kept her in prison were as silent about her as the keepers of the Man in the Iron Mask were about that mysterious object of their solicitude. Where little is known, there is little to be told. The captive bore her restraint with a patience which even her daughter must have admired; but she was not without hopes of escaping from a thralldom from which it was clear she could never be released by the voluntary act of those who kept her in an undeserved custody. It is believed that her funds at Amsterdam were intended by her to be disposed of in the purchase of aid to secure her escape; but it is added that her agents betrayed her, embezzled her property, and by revealing for what purpose they were her agents, brought upon her a closer arrest than any under which she had hitherto suffered. Romance has made some additions to these items of intelligence, — items, great portions of which rest only on conjecture. The undoubted fact that much of the property which she inherited was to pass to her children, rendered the death of a mother a consummation to be desired by so indifferent a son and daughter as the Prince of Wales and the Queen of Prussia. The interest held by her husband was of

a similar description, and the fatal consequences that might follow were not unprovided for by the friends of the prisoner. "It is known," says Walpole, "that in Queen Anne's time there was much noise about French prophets. A female of that vocation (for we know from Scripture that the gift of prophecy is not limited to one gender) warned George I. to take care of his wife, as he would not survive her a year. That oracle was probably dictated to the French Deborah by the Duke and Duchess of Zell, who might be apprehensive that the Duchess of Kendal might be tempted to remove entirely the obstacle to her conscientious union with their son-in-law. Most Germans are superstitious, even such as have few other impressions of religion. George gave such credit to the denunciation, that, on the eve of his last departure, he took leave of his son and the Princess of Wales with tears, telling them he should never see them more. It was certainly his own approaching end that melted him, not the thought of quitting for ever two persons that he hated."

But both parties had yet a few years to live, and one of them some honours to bestow. It was almost in the same hour that George wrote directions for the stricter keeping of his wife, and signed the patents for raising his mistress in the peerage. On the same day, "Sophia Charlotte von Platen, Countess of Leinster, in Ireland," was raised to the rank of Baroness of Brentford, and Countess of Darlington, in England; and the king's illegitimate daughter, Melusina de Schulemberg, *niece* (as the patent lyingly declared) of the Duchess of Kendal, was created Baroness of Aldborough, and Countess of Walsingham. This

was on the 10th of April, 1722. That day week, the Prince of Wales made a better trial upon the admiration of the public, by having his two daughters, Amelia and Caroline, inoculated for the smallpox; a trial which ended favourably, as it deserved to do. "The quality," say the papers of the day, "would have universally followed this example, but for the death of the infant son of the Earl of Sunderland, who died of smallpox after inoculation." The family of the Prince of Wales was increased, in the year 1722, by the birth of a daughter, — Mary.

The last foreign favourite of George I., Sophia Charlotte von Platen, Countess of Darlington, did not long enjoy the new honours conferred upon her by the king: she died in the month of April, 1724. This death was followed, soon after, by that of the king's brother, Maximilian William, a colonel in the service of the emperor. He was a rigid Roman Catholic, as were others of his family; and, at the time of his death, which occurred at Vienna, he was in the sixtieth year of his age. On the 2d of November, 1726, a death which should have more nearly touched the king took place in Germany. On the day named, in the castle of Ahlden, calmly, and almost unobservedly, died the poor princess, "Queen of Great Britain," as those who loved her were wont to call her, — after a captivity of more than thirty years. She had been long in declining health, born of declining hopes; and yet she endured all things with patience, contenting herself in her last moments with reasserting her innocence, commending herself to God, naming her children, and pardoning her oppressors. Thus much is generally known; but there is

little further reliable information. She was a prisoner, and she died : and such is the amount of what is really known concerning her, after she was cloistered up within the limits of the castle and estate at Ahlden. Her royal husband simply notified, in the *Gazette*, that a Duchess of Ahlden had died at her residence, on the date above named ; but he did not add that he had thereby lost a wife, or his children lost a mother. No intimation was given of the relationship she held toward him or them ; but his ire burst forth into an explosion of rage, when he heard that his daughter, with the court of Prussia, had gone into mourning for the death of her mother. The amiable father and king, having thus exhibited the character of his own feeling, proceeded to manifest that of his very bad taste. It was shortly after the demise of his consort, — not that he had waited for the event, — that he raised to the infamy of being his “favourite” an English woman, named Ann Brett, half-sister of Savage, the poet, — their common mother, the repudiated wife of the Earl of Macclesfield, having married that rakish gentleman Colonel Brett, by whom she became the mother of Ann, in whom the foreign sovereign of England paid the nation the compliment, as Walpole satirically says, of taking openly an English mistress. Miss Brett, unlike the other royal concubines, resided in St. James’s Palace. “Abishag,” says Walpole, “was lodged in the palace under the eyes of Bathsheba, who seemed to maintain her power, as other favourite sultanas have done, by suffering partners in the sovereign’s affections.” George intended to have honoured her, and dishonoured the peerage, by raising her to the rank of a countess. Three of the

granddaughters of the king also resided in the palace, and "Anne, the eldest, a woman," says Mr. Cunningham, "of a most imperious and ambitious nature, soon came to words with the English mistress of her grandfather." After the king repaired, for the last time, to Hanover, Miss Brett ordered a door to be broken in the wall of her apartment, in order that she might have access by it to the royal gardens. In these gardens the Princess Anne was accustomed to walk, and not desiring Miss Brett for a companion, she ordered the door to be bricked up. "Abishag" had the obstruction removed, and the princess again bricked up the concubine; and thus went on the war between them, until news of the death of the unworthy grandfather of the one, and the wretched old lover of the other, put an end to the conflict, and to many other matters besides.

Not long before his Majesty set out on his last Continental journey, his bronze statue, erected in Grosvenor Square, was, on one dark night, treated with great indignity. Its limbs were hacked and mutilated, the neck was hewn into, as if an attempt had been made to decapitate it, and a seditious libel affixed to the breast. With this type of the national feeling impressed upon his mind, the king set out for Hanover on the 3d of June, 1727. On the night of that day week he died at Osnaburgh, aged sixty-seven years and thirteen days. The king had landed at Vaer, in Holland, on the 7th, and he travelled thence to Utrecht, by land, escorted by the Guards to the frontiers of Holland. On Friday, the 9th, he reached Dalden, at twelve at night, when he was apparently in excellent health. He partook of supper largely,

and with appetite, eating, among other things, part of a melon, a fruit which has killed more than one Emperor of Germany. At three the next morning he resumed his journey; but he had not travelled two hours when he was attacked by violent abdominal pains. He hurried on to Linden, where dinner awaited him; but being able to eat nothing, he was immediately bled, and other remedies made use of. Anxious to reach Hanover, he ordered the journey to be continued with all speed. He fell into a lethargic doze in the carriage, and so continued, leaning on a gentleman in waiting, who was with him in the carriage. To this attendant he feebly announced in French, "I am a dead man." He reached the episcopal palace at Osnaburgh at ten that night; was again bled in the arm and foot, but ineffectually: his lethargy increased, and he died about midnight.

A well-known story is told by Walpole, to the effect that George, "in a tender mood, promised to the Duchess of Kendal, that if she survived him, and it were possible for the departed to return to this world, he would make her a visit. The duchess, on his death, so much expected the accomplishment of that engagement, that a large raven, or some black fowl, flying into the windows of her villa, at Isleworth" (Twickenham?), "she was persuaded it was the soul of her departed monarch so accoutred, and received and treated it with all the respect and tenderness of duty, till this royal bird or she took their last flight."

CHAPTER XIII.

BERENGARIA AND SOPHIA DOROTHEA, — CŒUR DE LION, AND GEORGE OF HANOVER

Fate of Berengaria — The Heiress of Cyprus — Comparison of Sophia and the Queen of Cœur de Lion — Richard the First and the Elector — Statue to George the First, but Denied to Cromwell — Tyranny and Cruelty of Richard — Origin of the Order of the Garter — Project to Make Away with the Prince of Wales — Character of George I. — Anecdotes of Him — George the Second as a Young Man — Picture of the Court of Prussia — Brutality of Frederick to His Wife and Family — A Drunkard and Madman.

I HAVE already remarked, that of all the Queens of England there were two who never landed on the shores of the country of which they were nominally the queens. Those two were Berengaria, the consort of Cœur de Lion, and Sophia Dorothea, wife of George of Hanover. Nor were these the only circumstances in the lives of the two princesses which were similar: there were many other passages between which a parallel may be drawn, and which may be appropriately brought before the notice of, at least, younger readers.

Berengaria, the Navarrese princess, was not a first love of Richard Cœur de Lion. The latter had wooed Alice of France before he became struck with the beauty of Berengaria, at a tournament, and made her

an offer of his hand. In similar manner, George Louis had wooed, but was not engaged to, Anne (as Richard was to Alice) before he sought in marriage the youthful Sophia of Zell.

It was in each case the mother of the lover who made the demand for the lady's hand; and Berengaria was as eagerly surrendered to Eleanor, the mother of Richard, by her father, Sancho the Wise, as Sophia Dorothea was to Sophia of Hanover, by her sire, the Duke of Zell. It may here be noticed, that however similar the destinies of the ladies, there was nothing alike in the characters of their respective fathers, except only in their love for being surrounded by foreigners, and especially by Frenchmen. In the case of the father of Sophia Dorothea, this inclination was taught him by his Gallic wife. On one occasion, at a court dinner, when the whole of the duke's guests were found to be Frenchmen, one of them, more truly than courteously, remarked that "*Il n'y a d'étranger ici que monseigneur*" (His Highness is the only foreigner present); a remark which might have been made at the table of the Spanish Sancho of Navarre, who was surrounded by poets and minstrels from other, and sometimes far distant lands.

Berengaria and Richard were espoused at Limoussa, in Cyprus, and as much rude pomp was displayed at the wedding as of cumbrous ceremony at that of Sophia and George Louis. The former solemnity followed upon much wandering about by sea and land, before the affianced couple met at Cyprus, where Richard first overthrew the power of Isaac, the sovereign, and took possession of his dominions, before he espoused his "ladye," and crowned her

Queen of Cyprus as well as of England. George Louis had no opportunity to accomplish any achievement of a like nature; but he very much resembled the wild bridegroom in the act which followed. When Richard captured Isaac, there also surrendered to him Isaac's daughter, and the English king placed the fair Cypriote in the train of his newly married wife, where she held an office similar to that which George Louis bestowed on Mlle. von Schulemburg, when he appointed her maid of honour to Sophia Dorothea.

But Berengaria was more fortunate than Sophia in one thing: she had a faithful friend, and that friend a woman, — Joanna, her sister-in-law; and the two

“Held each other dear,
And lived as doves in cage.”

Sophia had as friend only Prince Philip, the brother of her husband, and he communicated little with her, save through his confidant, — the presuming and ill-destined Count Königsmark. It may be added that Richard was more justly punished for his infidelities than George, seeing that the scandals which connected the name of the Cypriote lady with that of the English king, touched the honour of the house of Austria, related to her by the alliance of the Archduke Leopold with the family of the Comneni; and these scandals commenced the feud between Leopold and Richard, for which the latter paid so dearly by his captivity in Austria.

In the meantime, throughout the Syrian campaign, the “heirress of Cyprus” remained near the presence

of Berengaria, who had already nearly outlived the liking of her lord. Sophia Dorothea saw as swift a change in the fidelity of her lord. Richard proceeded on this way, however, at the conclusion of the campaign, in a ship belonging to a master of the Temple. How this ship was wrecked, and how its royal passenger was ultimately made a prisoner, need not here be told. The vessel which bore Berengaria, Joanna, and that unwelcome lady of Cyprus, — all under the guardianship of a suburban knight, named Sir Stephen of Turnham, — arrived safely at Naples, where the ladies landed, and thence proceeded to Rome. After long delays, and much trouble, they travelled to Pisa, Genoa, and again by ship to Marseilles. From the latter port they were escorted by the Crusader Raymond de St. Giles, who very naturally fell in love with Joanna by the way, and very aptly celebrated the arrival of the party in Poitou by marrying, and making a happy countess of the young and well-endowed friend of Berengaria.

At Poitou, Berengaria remained during her royal husband's captivity. The Cypriote princess continued to reside with her; a fact which says much for her Griselda-like patience. When, however, it was intimated that the Archduke of Austria would not consent to the liberation of Richard but on condition, among other stipulations, that the daughter of Isaac should be taken from the household of Richard and be delivered to her Austrian relatives at the German congress, the spouse of Richard, no doubt, paid that portion of the ransom with all the eagerness of an unselfish wife.

The payment never brought the truant husband

nearer to his wife than George ever was to Sophia Dorothea, after the intrigues of his and his father's mistresses had made two hearths in one household. Richard hurried to England, and thence to his Angevin territories. Here he was in the vicinity of the dwelling-place of his faithful queen, but he never approached her, nor showed more solicitude for her than George Louis did, when hunting in the Ahlden woods, for the guiltless prisoner in the castle there.

In both cases the husbands were given to low debauchery, profligate company, and riotous living. In both cases the husbands made two overtures of reconciliation, which in both cases were not indeed ineffectual, because in the case of the earlier espoused couple, the wife had not been degraded by an accusation of infidelity made by her husband, — an accusation insultingly implied by George Louis in his persecution of Sophia Dorothea. The reconciliation alluded to took place in 1196, five years after the marriage had taken place in Cyprus; nearly the whole of which time had been spent in presence of the rivalry of the Cypriote princess, or in estrangement from Richard. The reunion lasted three years; and had it been followed by the birth of an heir to England, it would have saved the country from the career of John, John himself from the sin of the murder of Arthur, and the kingdom from being put under interdict because John was dishonest enough to cheat Berengaria out of her dower.

Berengaria passed a long widowhood at Mans, in extent of time equal to that of the captivity of Sophia Dorothea at Ahlden. But she was a happier, and perhaps something of a more patient, woman than

the latter. Even in her estrangement from her husband, she never uttered a word of complaint against him. Not that Sophia Dorothea failed to exhibit either mildness or dignity in her captivity: on the contrary, she manifested both; and Coxe says of her, in his "Memoirs of Walpole," that, "on receiving the sacrament once every week, she never omitted making the most solemn asseverations that she was not guilty of the crime laid to her charge." The two wives resembled each other in personal beauty, and in amiability of disposition. There was less similarity between the external appearance of their respective husbands. George Louis was small of stature, an ill-dresser in his early days, and an equally bad one in declining years, when Walpole described him as "an elderly man, pale, exactly like his pictures and coins, not tall, of an aspect rather good than august; with a dark tie, wig, a plain coat, waistcoat and breeches of snuff-coloured cloth, with stockings of the same colour, and a blue riband over all." Quite another figure was Richard in his satin tunic of rose colour, belted round his waist; his mantle of silver tissue, striped, and brocaded with silver half-moons, his Damascus sword, gold-hilted and silver-sheathed; and his scarlet bonnet, brocaded in gold with figures of animals. He had yellow, or flaxen, hair, golden locks, indeed, a bright complexion, a soldierly bearing, and a graceful figure; but the hearts of Richard and George were very much alike: neither of them could appreciate the worth of a true woman, pure of mind, refined of taste, and guiltless of wrong, even in thought.

We have raised statues to George, but have dis-

creetly hidden them in the shrubberies, dust, and duskiness of our squares. One was raised to him even in his lifetime ; but it is only within a year or two that the question has been agitated of erecting a statue in honour of the husband of Berengaria. This question has been affirmatively maintained by men who oppose the admission of the statue of Cromwell among those of the masters of England in the House of Parliament. Upon the matter of Cromwell's statue I must not dilate, more than to say, that the difficulty lies in a very small compass. If the sovereigns of England are to be faithfully represented according to their succession, then Cromwell cannot be excluded ; and if his exclusion is determined upon because he was usurper, or regicide, then must there be unoccupied pedestals from Rufus to Stephen, both inclusive ; and John, the third Richard, and indeed several others, must also be refused admission, on the ground that they were assassins or usurpers, and sometimes both.

But if the people mutilated the statue of the husband of Sophia Dorothea in his lifetime because of his unworthiness, still more might their successors protest against one being raised in honour of that husband of the other Queen of England who never came among us to claim our homage.

Richard was even a worse son than George. The two men were faithless as husbands, brutal as lovers, truthless and bloody as princes. There was no respect for the honour of any woman in the heart of either of them ; and they further resembled each other in this, that, in their early days, they had more affection for the political system of France, as re-

garded this country, than for that of England. Of the ten years of the triply accursed reign of the one, scarcely more than half as many months were spent by him among the people confided by Providence to his sway. George ranks next to him as an absentee: he was for ever seeking an opportunity to visit Hanover, and, when there, devising excuses for not returning. Richard sold the highest offices of the crown, and squandered the money on the gratification of his debasing vices. George was quite as unscrupulous, and gave offices even to his mistresses. The husband of Berengaria was more criminal in his fraudulent sale of crown lands as well as crown offices, of titles, and of church preferments, in some of which things the husband of Sophia Dorothea, or his government, was by no means particular.

When Richard was about setting out for Acre, he instituted the Order of the Blue Thong, the insignia of which was a blue band of leather, worn on the left leg, and which appears to me to be the undoubted original of the Order of the Garter. There were twenty-four knights of the order, with the king for master, and the wearers pledged themselves to deserve increased honours by scaling the walls of Acre in company. On the other hand, if George did not institute, he at least restored the Order of the Bath. It was a measure proposed to him by Sir Robert Walpole, and "was an artful bank of thirty-six ribands to supply a fund of favours in lieu of places." Two of the ribands were offered to Sarah, Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, for her grandson the duke, and for the Duke of Bedford, the husband of her

granddaughter. "She haughtily replied," says Walpole, "they should take nothing but the Garter. 'Madam,' said Sir Robert, coolly, 'they who have the Bath will the sooner have the Garter.' The next year he took the latter himself with the Duke of Richmond, both having been previously installed knights of the revived institution."

Richard sold the trophies of his former victories for a capful of marks; and his refusal adequately to avenge the slaughter of the Jews at his coronation, with the assertion of assassins who perpetrated the deed that they acted under his sanction, all tends to show how little he really prized honour, and how as little he regarded the spilling of blood. So George, if brave, was not chivalrous; and when his own Parliament, on the conviction of the Scottish peers who had taken arms for the Pretender, petitioned him to spare as many as his mercy might be consistently extended to, he haughtily reproved them for meddling with matters which did not concern them, and took a bloody vengeance for a venial crime. It would have been bloodier, but that several destined victims escaped from their prison previous to the day named for their execution.

Both these men were, however, brave in the presence of an enemy on the battle-field. Courage was almost their solitary virtue; and George, unlike Richard, never ran away in affright from the wrath and the cudgel of an infuriated peasant. It may further be put to the credit of the husband of Sophia Dorothea that he was incapable of such a crime as that committed by the husband of Berengaria after the capitulation at Acre, when he ordered the throats of

thousands of the enemy to be cut who had surrendered upon faith of honourable treatment. If some of the Jacobites were entrapped into a surrender which led them to the gallows, the agents of George, and not that king himself, must be declared responsible, despite the apophthegm which says, *qui facit per alium facit per se*.

Richard plundered his country in order to carry on a Crusade under the influence of "a red rag and insanity." His deputies plundered it in his absence, and the people were plundered of one-fourth of their property to purchase his return. When that return had taken place, he deprived of their office all those persons to whom he had before his departure sold them, on the plea that such sales were illegal. He did not refund the original purchase-money, but he resold the appointments to other buyers. There was as great an unlawful buying and selling in George's time, but the system was more blamable than the individual who presided over it, although he alone is answerable for the application of the people's taxes to support the glittering profligacy of his mistresses. He was at least careful to contract the expenses of his civil list, — after he had gone far enough beyond honest limits to have acquired sufficient surplus money to support the expenses of the list during the remainder of his reign, and after he had persuaded his Parliament to make good the defalcation. Both kings mulcted their subjects heavily to support wars against a foreign power, and neither paid much regard to either remonstrance or complaint. They were both covetous; Richard more particularly so. Covetousness brought about his death. The Lord

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of Limoges had discovered a treasure, and, because he would not give the whole of it to Richard, the latter besieged him in his castle, before which he was slain by a bolt driven from a crossbow of his own invention. George, like him, died abroad, but more ingloriously. It was rather gluttony than covetousness, in its pecuniary sense, which compassed his death. Had he not eaten indiscreetly of melon, in spite of counsel to the contrary, he might, perhaps, have lived longer. But appetite he could not constrain. Richard had a strong one, but it was "nicer" of character. George, for instance, was fond of oysters — not fresh English natives, but tainted things with sickly yawning shells, and these he would swallow with disgusting relish and avidity.

Richard does not bear the reputation of being a tender father, even to his illegitimate children, and he had no other. George was as little parentally tender to his legitimate son and daughter: to the former he was especially harsh, and more than harsh, if we may credit the story, that he received from the Earl of Berkeley (first lord of the admiralty) a written proposal to seize the Prince of Wales, and convey him to America, where he should never be heard of more. The proposal was Berkeley's, but the handwriting in which it was made was that of Charles Stanhope, brother of the first Earl of Harrington. On the death of the king, Queen Caroline found the proposal among other papers in his cabinet. It referred to an atrocious deed, and Walpole thinks that George I. was too humane to listen to it; a very gratuitous surmise, for the treatment of Sophia Dorothea was only less atrocious in degree, not in

principle. Besides, the projectors were never punished. "It was not very kind to the conspirators," says Walpole, "to leave such an instrument behind him ; and," he adds, "if virtue and conscience will not check bold, bad men from paying court by detestable offices, the king's carelessness, or indifference, in such an instance ought to warn them of the little gratitude that such machinations can inspire or expect."

This son's double fault in his father's eyes was his popularity, and, at one time, his love for his mother, — whom he loved, we are told, as much as he hated his father. A pleasant household, a sorry hearth ; mistresses resting their rouged cheeks on the monarch's bosom, a wife in prison, and a son hating her oppressor, and loving but not redressing the oppressed. If Berengaria was unblessed with a child, she was untried by no huge and lengthened wrong as that inflicted on Sophia Dorothea. Had the latter helpless lady survived her consort, her son, it is said, had determined to bring her over to England, and proclaim her queen dowager. Lady Suffolk, the snubbed mistress of that son, expressed to Horace Walpole her surprise in going (in the morning after the intelligence of the death of George I. had reached England) to the new queen, the wife of the man of whom Lady Suffolk was the concubine rather than the "mistress," — expressed, as I have said, her surprise "at seeing hung up in the queen's dressing-room a whole length of a lady in royal robes ; and, in the bedchamber, a half-length of the same person, neither of which Lady Suffolk had ever seen before. The prince had kept them concealed, not daring to produce them during the life of his father. The

whole length he probably sent to Hanover. The half-length I have frequently seen in the library of the Princess Amelia, who told me it was the property of her grandmother. She bequeathed it, with other pictures of her family, to her nephew, the Landgrave of Hesse."

Smollett describes George I. rather whimsically, as "a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued his own interest." If this be true policy, it is also, at least in part, a selfish one. His character partook of both the grave and gay. He knew when he might fitly be either, but he was naturally more serious than light of deportment and disposition. Smollett declares him to have been willing to govern the kingdom according to constitutional principles, but that he was thwarted by a venal and corrupt ministry. The character of the government is not overcharged, and the members of it would, as Richard expressed his own willingness to do, have sold London itself, the honour of its men, and the virtue of its women, if they could have found purchasers.

The character drawn by Chesterfield of the husband of Sophia Dorothea is seriously drawn, but it has a solemnly satirical air. "George I.," says my lord, "was an honest, dull, German gentleman, as unfit as unwilling to act the part of a king, which is to shine and oppress ; lazy and inactive even in his pleasures, which were therefore lowly sensual. He was diffident of his own parts, which made him speak little in public, and prefer in his social, which were his favourite, hours the company of wags and buffoons. Even his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, with

whom he passed most of his time, and who had all influence over him, was very little above an idiot.

“Importunity alone could make him act, and then only to get rid of it. His views and affections were singly confined to the narrow compass of his electorate. England was too big for him. If he had nothing great as a king, he had nothing bad as a man; and if he does not adorn, at least he will not stain the annals of this country. In private life he would have been loved and esteemed as a good citizen, a good friend, and a good neighbour. Happy were it for Europe, happy for the world, if there were not greater kings in it.”

Chesterfield makes more account of George I., both as king and as man, than he deserved. As king, he does stain the annals of the country over which he was called to rule. As man, Chesterfield holds him to have had that within him which made him worthy of esteem as a citizen, friend, and neighbour, — and yet he avers of such a man that he ‘was lowly sensual and lazy; that he loved the company of buffoons, and that he preferred the society of a woman who was almost an idiot, to that of a wife who was accomplished, and whom he could never prove unfaithful. He was unfit for a king, we are told, because he was disinclined to oppression, and yet he kept that wife for more than thirty years a prisoner; — but oppression toward a wife was not a vice in the estimation of the courtly Chesterfield.

George had doubtless many minor provocations during his reign, calculated to affect his temper unfavourably. The pulpit occasionally reëchoed against him, as the priests more privately used to denounce



George the First
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Chesterfield says that George I. both as king and as man, was unimpaired. As king, he does state the reason of his conduct was simply his duty called on him. As man, Chesterfield holds him to have had the entire love which made him master of himself in all his conduct, and that he was yet by no means devoid of a heart that in that lively manner and way, that he loved the company of Indiscreet, and that he preferred the society of a woman who was almost an idiot, to that of a wife who was accomplished, and whom he could never prove unfaithful. He was unfit for a king, we are told, because he was disinclined to oppression, and yet he kept that wife for more than thirty years a prisoner; — but oppression toward a wife was not a vice in the estimation of the courtly Chesterfield.

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the vices of Richard ; and zealous clergymen, turned authors, took the white horse of Hanover as a symbol, and applied to it the passage from Revelation, in which it is said : " I looked, and beheld a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him."

As a sample of the graciousness of the king, we are told that his carriage having broken down on one occasion, when travelling to Hanover, he found temporary refuge in the house of a gentleman. In the room to which he was ushered, there hung the full-length of a person unknown to him, yet in royal robes. The owner of the portrait, with some confusion, explained that he had known the Chevalier when at Rome, and that this picture was a present from him. The king is supposed to have been very gracious, because, instead of giving way to an explosion of wrath, he confined himself to observing, " Upon my word, it is very like the family."

He received a severer touch from an old officer who had been intimate with him before his accession to the throne, but who did not appear to offer him congratulations upon his succeeding to the title. On inquiry being made as to the cause, the veteran replied, " I will willingly smoke a pipe with him as Elector of Hanover ; but I cannot recognise in him a King of Great Britain !" Considering that half the Hanoverian family were Jacobites, this speech was not so perilous as it sounds. Besides, the union of England with the electorate of Hanover was not popular in the latter locality, particularly when it was discovered that if Hanover was in any way wronged, England would not interfere to redress it, whereas no

sooner was England at feud with any Continental power, but Hanover was the first to feel that power's resentment.

His right to the throne was sometimes questioned, with ingenuity, even in England. Thus, when the flighty Duchess of Buckinghamshire was refused passage in her own carriage through a part of the park reserved for the royal family, she protested to the king, that if royalty only had the right of crossing the privileged line, he had no more claim to go there than she had. He wisely laughed, and gave permission to the mad duchess to drive whithersoever she pleased. He was annoyed, nevertheless, at this and other jests of a like nature; and if he never named his wife, as George II. never in his later days named his mother, it was because the enemies of the dynasty pretended to trace in the features of the second George a likeness to Count Königsmark, his mother's gallant cavalier. The Whigs had denied the legitimacy of the son of James II., and the Tories embraced with eagerness an opportunity to deny that of the heir of Brunswick.

Although the king could not speak English, he appears to have understood it well enough when it was spoken, to save Sir Robert Walpole the trouble of addressing him in very indifferent Latin. He would hardly otherwise have had the great hall at Hampton Court fitted up, in 1718, for the performance of English plays. The king's company were to have played there throughout the summer, but the hall was not ready for them till the end of September, by which time Drury Lane reopened for its usual autumn-winter season, and "His Majesty's

Servants" played in his presence only seven times. They were under the direction of Steele, who, in place of being rewarded with a government appointment for his political services, had got nothing more than some theatrical privileges. The plays represented were "Hamlet," on the 23d September; "Sir Courtly Nice," "The Constant Couple," "Love for Money," "Volpone, or the Fox," and "Rule a Wife and Have a Wife." Shakespeare's "Henry the Eighth" was the king's favourite play. On one night of its representation, he listened attentively to the scene in which Henry commands Wolsey to write letters of indemnity to those counties in which the payment of taxes had been disputed; and when he heard Wolsey's aside to Cromwell —

" Let it be noised
That through our intervention, this revokement
And pardon comes," —

the king turned to the Prince of Wales, and said, " You see, George, what you have one day to expect." His Majesty could not have been so very poor an English scholar, if he could thus enjoy, comprehend, and apply passages from Shakespeare. The other plays are, indeed, quite as difficult for a foreigner to understand; and George I. must have had a very fair acquaintance with our language, if he were able to follow Cibber in " Sir Courtly," laugh at the jokes of Pinkethman in " Crack," feel the heartiness of Miller in " Hothead," be interested in the " Testimony " of Johnson, sympathetic with the " Surly " of Thurmond, enjoy the periods of Booth in " Farewell," or the aristocratic spirit of Mills in " Lord Bellguard."

The ladies in the play "Leonore," acted before him by Mrs. Porter, and "Violante," played by Mrs. Younger, have also some things to say which might well puzzle one not to the matter born. But George must have comprehended all; for he so thoroughly enjoyed all, that Steele told Lord Sunderland, on being asked how his Majesty liked the entertainment, "So terribly well, my lord, that I was afraid I should have lost all my actors; for I was not sure the king would not keep them to fill the places at court, which he saw them so fit for in the play," — a remark thoroughly imbued with the trenchant wit of "Sir Richard."

For the entertainment, the king paid the travelling expenses of the actors down to Hampton, amounting to fifty pounds each night for the entire company, and sent a couple of hundred pounds to Steele and the other managers. That he loved the theatre is not surprising; the tastes of the stage were as gross as his own; and the descendant of Wodin could complacently savour the incense offered him in such lines as one which occurs in the "Generous Conqueror, or Timely Discovery," in which the author assured him that —

"The gods and godlike kings can do no wrong!"

Compared with which, the line of Cowper, which says, that

"Great princes have great pleasures,"

is very trite indeed.

Both George's laureates were indifferent poets. He appointed Rowe soon after his accession, and

Eusden's lines to the lord chamberlain (Duke of Newcastle), on his marriage with Lady Henrietta Godolphin, procured for that tipsy poet the battered laurel crown. So Cibber's "Nonjuror," written in favour of the Hanover succession, and against the Nonjurors and Jacobites, then abounding in London, got him such persecution from those rebellious persons, that it is supposed to have obtained for him, by way of compensation, the wreath of the laureate, presented by George II.

Toland describes George, when he was elector, and residing near the prison-house of Sophia Dorothea, as being exceedingly well informed on English questions; but the truth is, he knew so little of the constitution and customs of the country over which he was to reign, that, on ascending the throne, he told his ministers that, from his want of knowledge on those subjects, he should place himself entirely in their hands, and be governed by them. "Then," added he, "you become completely answerable for everything that I do." He was not even aware of his constitutional exemption from responsibility.

If this looks like a low sort of cunning, on the other hand it must be allowed that he was not without wit, and he could say a graceful thing in a graceful way, when an opportunity offered, and his humour wore its brighter side outward. To a German nobleman, who once congratulated him on being sovereign at once of England and Hanover, he happily remarked, "Rather congratulate me on having such a subject as Newton in the one, and Leibnitz in the other." His declaration of principles made to Sir Peter King, recorder of London, at the first levee after the acces-

sion, and intended, through that officer, for the edification of the citizens at large, was at least tersely, if not truly, given: "I never forsake a friend," so ran the phrase; "I will endeavour to do justice to everybody; and I fear nobody." Of the three parts of this sentence, the latter alone was founded on truth.

Less happy was the expression of an idea, called up by the splendour of his own coronation, when he observed to Lady Cooper that the sight of the place brought to his thoughts the Day of Judgment. The lady replied, in the bad taste of the day, and with little honesty of judgment, "Well may it be so, your Majesty; for it is truly the resurrection of England and all faithful subjects."

More happy was his own answer, on being challenged by a masked lady at a court masquerade, to drink to the health of the Pretender. "Very willingly," said he, "and to that of all unfortunate princes!" He thoroughly enjoyed the pleasantry of others; was delighted with Doctor Savage's merry observation, that he had failed to convert the Pope at Rome, because he had nothing better to offer him; and very truly observed of a Jacobite, who had been often arrested, and as often discharged for lack of proof, and who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, requested that, as he of course would be again arrested, he begged it might be done at once, as he wanted to go into Devonshire, — "Pooh, pooh!" said the king; "there can be but little harm in one who writes so pleasantly." Many of his subjects, however, for no more heinous crime, were most oppressively and cruelly used.

Still, his gaiety well balanced his austerity. This is well instanced in the case of Doctor Lockier, who was a favourite with the king, and whose continued absence from court so perplexed his Majesty, that he sent the Duchess of Lancaster to him, with an invitation to an evening party. The doctor declined to accept it, on the ground that he was seeking preferment from the ministers, and that his chance of success would be marred, were they to suspect him of keeping company with their master. George laughingly pronounced the reverend place-hunter to be in the right; and when the latter, some weeks afterward, kissed hands, upon being appointed Dean of Peterborough, the king whispered to him, before he arose, "Well, doctor, I hope you will not be afraid now to come and see me again in the evening."

Lockier's dread of being suspected to be on friendly terms with the monarch was not unreasonable; for a similar condition of things, the king's personal friend, and clerk of the closet, Doctor Younger, with whom he was wont to converse familiarly in German, was officially dismissed from his post, for no other reason than that he was too close to the willing ear of the sovereign. "Where is Doctor Younger?" asked the latter, on missing his ever-welcome presence. "Sire," said the minister, "he is dead." "I am truly sorry for it," said George; "he was a good man, and I intended to do something for him." At a subsequent period, on one of his progresses through the country, he saw the doctor officiating in his cathedral, at Salisbury. "My little dean," said the sovereign, "I am glad to see you alive; I was told you were dead. Why have you not been to court?"

The dean explained that, having received an official letter, informing him that his Majesty no longer required his services, he thought it would be unbecoming to intrude himself on his Majesty's presence. "I see, I see how it is," said the king, with excusable warmth; "but, by —, you shall be the first bishop I will make." And George would have kept his word, only that the dean died before a bishopric became vacant.

Where the ministers could lie, the menials of course could steal. A Hanoverian cook at the palace, disgusted at the rapacity of his fellows, who would not allow him to share in their plunder, went and complained to the king in person. He asserted his own honesty, but declared that such a virtue resided in no other person in the household. "Embezzlement," said he, "is rife in the kitchen, despite all I can do. When the dishes are brought from your Majesty's table, one steals a fowl, another a pig, a third a joint of meat, another a pie, and so on, till there is nothing left." George, who saw that the sorrow felt was, probably, because there was "nothing left" to steal, answered: "I can put up with these things; and my advice to you is, to go and steal like the rest, and to remember to take enough." The fellow took his master at his word, and became as accomplished in peculiar lightness of hand as the most expert of the impudent cooks immortalised in *Athenæus*.

Before concluding this chapter, I will add a few notices upon the children of Sophia Dorothea, — George, and the daughter named after her mother.

The son of Sophia of Zell was the pupil of her

mother-in-law, Sophia of Hanover ; and his boyhood did little credit to the system, or the acknowledged good sense of his instructress.

When the Earl of Macclesfield was at Hanover, in the year 1700, bearing with him that Act of Succession which secured a throne for the husband and son of Sophia Dorothea, that son George Augustus was not yet out of his "teens." He was of that age at which a prince is considered wise enough to rule kingdoms, but is yet incapable of governing himself. At that time, he was said to "give the greatest hopes of himself that we, or any people on earth, could desire." He was not of proud stature, indeed, and Alexander was not six feet high ; but Toland asserts, what is very hard to believe, that George possessed a winning countenance, and a manly aspect and deportment. In later years, he was rigid of feature, and walked as a man does who is stiff in the joints. He was, in the days of his youth, a graceful and easy speaker ; that is, his phrases were well constructed, and he expressed them with facility. His complexion was fair, and his hair a light brown. Like his father, he spoke Latin fluently ; and English much better than his father ; but with a decided foreign accent, like William of Orange. As the utmost care was taken, according to Toland, to furnish him with such other accomplishments as are fit for a gentleman and a prince, it is a pity that he made so unprofitable a use of so desirable a provision. He was tolerably well-versed in that history which his minister, Walpole, used to have read to him as a relaxation, because, as he said, it was not true ; but history to him was not philosophy teaching by example ; for though, in his

earlier years, panegyrists said of him, not only that his inclinations were virtuous, but that he was "wholly free from all vice," his life, subsequently, could not be so characterised, and the later practice marred the fair precedent. But let Toland limn the object of his love.

"These acquired parts," he says, "with a generous disposition and a virtuous inclination, will deservedly render him the darling of our people, and probably grace the English throne with a most knowing prince." In the popular sense of the term, the last words cannot be denied; and yet he never knew how to obtain, or cared how to merit, his people's love. "He learns English with inexpressible facility, and has not only learned of his grandmother to have a real esteem for Englishmen, but he likewise entertains a high notion of the wisdom, goodness, and power of the English government, concerning which I heard him, to my great satisfaction, ask several pertinent questions, and such as betokened no mean or common observation. I was surprised to find he understood so much of our affairs already; but his great vivacity will not let him be ignorant of anything. There is nothing more to be wished," says Toland, "but that he be proof against the temptations which accompany greatness, and defended from the poisonous infection of flatterers, who are the greatest bane of society, and commonly occasion the ruin of princes, if not in their lives, yet, at least, in their fame and reputation." It was under the temptations alluded to that George Augustus made shipwreck of his fame. His history, however, will be traced more fully hereafter. At present we

will only consider the career and character of his sister.

The daughter of Sophia Dorothea, four years younger than her brother, was fifteen years old when the Act of Succession opened a throne to her father, but not to her mother. She had in her youth sweetness of manners, fairness of features, and a soft and winning voice. Her fair brown hair, as in her mother's case, heightened the grace and charms of a fair complexion; and her blue eyes were the admiration of the poets, and the inspiration even of those whom the gods had not made poetical. Her features, taken singly, were not without defect; but the expression which pervaded them was a good substitute for purely unintellectual beauty. The Electress Sophia was, if not her governess, the superintendent of her governesses; and the training, rigid and formal, failed in the development that was most to be desired. Had her brother died childless, the succession was fixed in her person, and thus Prussia might have been to England what Hanover has been. "In minding her discourse to others," says Toland, "and by what she was pleased to say to myself, she appears to have a more than ordinary share of good sense and wit. The whole town and court commend the easiness of her manners, and the evenness of her disposition, but, above all her other qualities, they highly extol her good humour, which is the most valuable endowment of either sex, and the foundation of most other virtues. Upon the whole, considering her personal merit, and the dignity of her family, I heartily wish and hope to see her some day Queen of Sweden." This hearty wish was not to be realised.

The younger Sophia Dorothea became the wife of a brute, and, as I have said, the mother of a hero.

I have already noticed how the Mark of Brandenburg became a kingdom. The new kingdom of Prussia grew in strength as the old empire of Germany, split into numerous independent governments, increased in weakness. The second monarch of the kingdom just named was Frederick William, to whom the daughter of Sophia of Zell was married on the 28th of November, 1706; shortly after which, the newly married couple became King and Queen of Prussia.

The bridegroom was a man of few virtues, but of many and great vices. He was not destitute of talent, and he was ungovernable of temper. His conduct to his wife was that of an insane savage. He deprived her of the guardianship of her children, and kept her so ill-provided for, that, at last, had it not been for a revenue of £800 allowed her by her brother, George II., she would have been worse off than the lowest "burgherin" in Berlin. Out of the taxes paid by the people of England, the Queen of Prussia was furnished with clean linen, and some of the other luxuries and necessities of life.

Her husband was at the time immensely rich, and parsimonious beyond parallel. A hundred and twenty millions of dollars lay unfructifying in the cellars of the palace; and he had a cabinet full of gold, which he gave to his wife — to take care of. He compelled his nobles to part with their estates at a nominal price, and farmed his lands to tax-gatherers, who hugely plundered the tenants, and were as profoundly fleeced in return by their gracious king. His am-

bassador at The Hague cut his throat with the only razor the poor fellow possessed, driven frantic, as he was, by being reduced to poverty, for a very slight offence. He had cut down some wood for fuel in the garden attached to his official residence, which was the property of the Prussian government, or rather king. The latter immediately mulcted him of a whole year's salary; and this, modest as the amount was, reducing him to most miserable straits, the poor envoy, doubly hurt, by the disgrace and the injury, took up his solitary razor, and, in the spirit of a Japanese noble, resorted to a suicide as a specific for his duplex wrong.

The worst feature in the character of the royal madman, however, was his terrible hatred of women. In the streets they, and indeed the men also, fled at his approach: the latter he allowed to escape with a curse; but if a woman came within reach of him, he would kick at her, punch her head with his iron fist, or smite her with his cane. It is not wonderful that the same man attempted the life of his own son; but it is wonderful that his subjects did not fling the monster into the turbid waters of his own river Spree.

Of the marriage of this couple, a princess, Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, was the first child. She was born in 1707. Before she was twelve years old, she was "beaten into plaster" by father, servant, and governesses, and was, as well-beaten children generally are, cunning, bold, and mendacious. Of this child, and even at this early age, her mother was unwise enough to make a confidant; telling her of her own miseries, and employing her as a spy upon her father,

especially in his drunken and unsuspecting hours. This led to scenes which would seem as farcical as an *Adelphi burletta*, were it not that they were not farces, but terrible realities; and in them we see a mother lying to her husband, again lying to her child, teaching the latter to lie to her sire, who, exasperated by discovery or suspicion, pursues the criminals to every conceivable and inconceivable hiding-place, routing them out with his crutched stick, and following them with oaths and menaces, as they flee before him with prayers and screams. The queen even purchased the alliance of her menials, and these took her money, and betrayed her to the king. The menials, however, appear to have been quite as irreproachable as many of the nobler courtiers, — among whom it would have been difficult to find one woman virtuous, or one man honest. Not that these lacked beyond the circle of mere courtiers. The queen herself, with all her heavy faults, was blameless in her character of wife and woman; and there were honest hearts beneath many a blue uniform in Berlin; but a hideous uncleanness of sentiment and spirit stuck like a leprosy to the souls and actions of the very best among them.

The marriage of the daughter was a consummation the most devoutly wished for by the mother; and at one time it had been determined to marry the two grandchildren of George I., Frederick, Duke of Gloucester (afterward Prince of Wales), and his sister Amelia, to the daughter and son of King Frederick and Queen Sophia. George I. himself went to Berlin, in 1723, to further this match, but it never came to the much desired conclusion.

In the meantime, the Prussian king drank harder than ever; and when he was sick, but not sorry, after these debauches, he would sing psalms and preach sermons to his family, who, laughing at him in return, generally got well thrashed before the end of the service. In one desponding fit he resolved to abdicate, take a small house in the country, make his daughter wash the linen, employ his son in marketing, and set his consort to the spit. To inure them to their destined change of circumstances, he employed barbarities which have been truly described as disgraceful to human nature. No brute beast could more have disregarded decency in presence of its offspring. No madman ever ended a more terrific career of outrage before wife and children, by an attempt at hanging, than he did. And few wives would have followed the example of Sophia Dorothea, and have cut down the brute, only to be the victim of his further brutalities. The lives of both wife and children were more than once very nearly sacrificed by his assassin-like cruelties. The detail of them is sickening in the extreme. His most bitter disappointment lay in the fact that he could not find proof of treason in his children whereby to be authorised to put them both to death, — “that rascal Fritz, and that hussy Wilhelmina.”

I need not here repeat that well-known story which tells of the attempt made by the young prince to escape from his father's brutalities: how it ended in the violent death of the prince's friend, and how it had well-nigh ended in the murder of the son himself.

Wilhelmina was ultimately married to the little Prince of Baireuth; and the marriage and the life

which followed thereupon have much more, in their narration, the air of a pantomime than of prosaic history. The wedding was comically ceremonious; the bride's sister endeavoured to seduce the bridegroom; and after the young couple had departed with their suite, they were greeted on their passage by bodies of "notables," who were huge living caricatures, with the addition of being very dirty. They did not reach their palace before the ponderous carriage which bore them had broken down and rolled the illustrious travellers into the mud.

It would lead me too much away from my subject to describe the princess's father-in-law, — the margrave who had read but two books, had a purse as ill-furnished as his mind, and yet never walked to his cold meat without a flourish from a couple of cracked trumpets to announce that event to the world, and bid lesser potentates sit down.

The same pantomimic aspect rested on all the other personages, and on all the furniture, appointments, and incidents of the court. Everything was of an exaggerated character, even the vices; and when the court drank, stupendous inebriety followed, with accidents to match — which even pantomimes forbear to bring before the public. We hear, too, of princesses with noses like beet-root, and maids of honour so fat that they cannot sit down, and never stoop to kiss a hand without rolling over on the carpet.

But to return to the daughter of our Sophia of Zell. The Queen of Prussia had negotiated a marriage between her son Frederick (not yet the "Great") and a princess of Brunswick. She openly spoke of her intended daughter-in-law with ridicule

and disgust, and was not more reserved even in the poor lady's presence. The queen survived her brutal husband, whose last act was to bid her get up and see him die. She obeyed, and the king duly performed the feat which he had called her to witness. Her after-life was more happy, and the virtues she exhibited during its course tend to prove that the tyranny, cruelty, and filthy insults of which she had been made the victim by her husband, alone rendered the wretched woman not merely a slave, but, as slaves are wont to be, careless in the observation of strict proprieties. As the revered mother of the great Frederick, she lived on to the year 1757, when she died at the allotted age of man, threescore years and ten. The present King of Prussia is a lineal descendant of Sophia Dorothea of Zell through this daughter, the second queen that wore the Prussian crown. He presides in Berlin, the mere viceroy of the Tsar.

But it is time to turn from this record of incidents of the times of Sophia and George Louis, to that of circumstances in the lives of their successors. Of the former pair it may be said, that Sophia atoned for some possible indiscretion by a long captivity, the severity of which tended only to the purifying and perfecting of her character. Her husband has been described truly in a few words by Mr. Macaulay, when speaking of Pitt's lines on the monarch's death : "The Muses are earnestly entreated to weep over the urn of Cæsar : for Cæsar, says the poet, loved the Muses ; Cæsar, who could not read a line of Pope, and who loved nothing but punch and fat women."

Caroline Wilhelmina Dorothea

Wife of George II.

“Da seufzt sie, da presst sie das Herz — es war
Ja Lieb und Glück nur geträumet.”

— GEIBEL.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE THE ACCESSION

Birth of Princess Caroline — Her Early Married Life — Eulogised by the Poets — Gaiety of the Court of the Prince and Princess at Leicester House — Beauty of Miss Bellenden — Mrs. Howard, the Prince's Favourite — Intolerable Grossness of the Court of George the First — Lord Chesterfield and the Princess — The Mad Duchess — Buckingham House — Rural Retreat of the Prince at Richmond; the Resort of Wit and Beauty — Swift's Pungent Verses — The Fortunes of the Young Adventurers, Mr. and Mrs. Howard — The Queen at Her Toilet — Mrs. Clayton, Her Influence with Queen Caroline — The Prince Ruled by His Wife — Doctor Arbuthnot and Dean Swift — The Princess's Regard for Newton and Halley — Lord Macclesfield's Fall — His Superstition, and That of the Princess — Prince Frederick's Vices — Not Permitted to Come to England — Severe Rebuff to Lord Hardwicke — Doctor Mead — Courage of the Prince and Princess — The Princess's Friendship for Doctor Friend — Swift at Leicester House — Royal Visit to "Bartlemy Fair."

CAROLINE WILHELMINA DOROTHEA was the daughter of John Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg-Anspach, and of Eleanor Erdmuth Louisa, his second wife, daughter of John George, Duke of Saxe-Eisenach. She was born in 1683, and married the Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterward George II., in the year 1705. Her mother having remarried, after her father's death, when Caroline was very young, the latter left the court of her stepfather, George IV., Elector of Saxony, for that of her guardian, Fred-

erick, Elector of Brandenburg, afterward King of Prussia. The Electress of Brandenburg was the daughter of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and sister of George I. The young Caroline was considered fortunate in being placed under the care of a lady who, it was said at the time, and perhaps with some reason, would assuredly give her a "tincture of her own politeness."

Notice has already been taken of the suitors who early offered themselves for the hand of the youthful princess; and for what excellent reason she selected the son of Sophia Dorothea. It was said, when she came to share the throne of England with her husband, that Heaven had especially reserved her in order to make Great Britain happy. Her early married life was one of some gaiety, if not of felicity; and Baron Pilnitz says in his memoirs, that when the electoral family of Hanover was called to the throne of this country, she showed more cool carelessness for the additional grandeur, than any of the family, whose outward indifference was a matter of admiration, in the old sense of that word, to all who beheld it. The Princess Caroline, according to the baron, particularly demonstrated that she was thoroughly satisfied in her mind that she could be happy without a crown, and that "both her father-in-law and her husband were already kings in her eyes, because they highly deserved that title." Of her conduct during the period she was Princess of Wales, the same writer says that she favoured neither political party, and was equally esteemed by each. This, however, is somewhat beside the truth.

The poets were as much concerned with the Princess of Wales as the politicians. Some abused, and some adored her. Addison, in 1714, assured her that the Muse waited on her person, and that she herself was —

“Born to strengthen and to grace our isle.”

The same writer could not contemplate the daughter of Caroline, but that his prophetic eye professed to —

“Already see the illustrious youths complain,
And future monarchs doom’d to sigh in vain.”

Frederick (Duke of Gloucester), the elder and less loved son of Caroline, was not yet in England, but her favourite boy, William, was at her side; and of him Addison said, that he had “the mother’s sweetness and the father’s fire.” The poet went on, less to prophesy than to speculate with a “perhaps,” on the future destiny of William of Cumberland, and it was well he put in the saving word, for nothing could be less like fact than the “fortune” alluded to in the following lines:

“For thee, perhaps, even now of kingly race,
Some dawning beauty blooms in every grace.
Some Caroline, to Heaven’s dictates true,
Who, while the sceptred rivals vainly sue,
Thy inborn worth with conscious eyes shall see,
And slight th’ imperial diadem for thee.”

Of the princess herself, he says more truly, that she —

“with graceful ease
And native majesty is form’d to please.”

And he adds, that the stage, growing refined, will draw its finished heroines from her, who was herself known to be "skill'd in the labours of the deathless Muse."

In short, Parnassus was made to echo with eulogies of or epigrams upon this royal lady. Of the quarrel between George I. and his son mention has been already made. For years together, the king never addressed a word to the Prince of Wales, but the princess would compel him, as Count Broglio, the French ambassador, writes, to answer the remarks which she addressed to him when she encountered him "in public." But even then, says the count, "he only speaks to her on these occasions for the sake of decorum." She-devil, was the application commonly employed by the amiable king to designate his high-spirited daughter-in-law.

The Prince and Princess of Wales, on withdrawing from St. James's, established their court in "Leicester Fields." Of this court, Walpole draws a pleasant picture. It must have been a far livelier locality than that of the king, whose ministers were the older Whig politicians. "The most promising," says Walpole, "of the young lords and gentlemen of that party, and the prettiest and liveliest of the young ladies, formed the new court of the Prince and Princess of Wales. The apartment of the bedchamber-women in waiting became the fashionable evening rendezvous of the most distinguished wits and beauties: Lord Chesterfield, Lord Stanhope, Lord Scarborough, Carr (Lord Hervey), elder brother of the more known John, Lord Hervey, and reckoned to have superior parts; General (at that time only

Colonel) Charles Churchill, and others, not necessary to mention, were constant attendants; Miss Lepell, afterward Lady Hervey, my mother, Lady Walpole, Mrs. Selwyn, mother of the famous George, and herself of much vivacity, and pretty; Mrs. Howard, and, above all, for universal admiration, Miss Bellenden, one of the maids of honour. Her face and person were charming; lively she was almost to *étourderie*; and so agreeable she was, that I never heard her mentioned afterward by one of her contemporaries who did not prefer her as the most perfect creature they ever knew."

To this pleasant party in this pleasant resort, the Prince of Wales often came,—his chief attraction being, not the wit or worth of the party, but the mere beauty of one of the party forming it. This was Miss Bellenden, who, on the other hand, saw nothing in the fair-haired and little prince that could attract her admiration. The prince was never famous for much delicacy either of expression or sentiment, but he could exhibit a species of wit in its way. He had probably been contemplating the engraving of the visit of Jupiter to the nymph Danae in a shower of gold, when he took to pouring the guineas from his purse, in Miss Bellenden's presence. He seemed to her, if we may judge by the comment she made upon his conduct, much more like a villainous little bashaw offering to purchase a Circassian slave,—and on one occasion, as he went on counting the glittering coin, she exclaimed, "Sir, I cannot bear it; if you count your money any more I will go out of the room." She did even better, by marrying the man of her heart, Colonel John Campbell,—a

step at which the prince, when it came to his knowledge, affected to be extremely indignant; and never forgave her for an offence, which indeed was no offence, and required no forgiveness. The prince, like that young Duke of Orléans who thought he would suffer in reputation if he had not a "favourite" in his train, let his regard stop at Mrs. Howard, another of his wife's bedchamber-women, who was but too happy to receive such regard, and to return it with all required attachment and service.

The Princess of Wales, during the reign of her father-in-law, maintained a brilliant court, and presided over a gay round of pleasures. In this career she gained that which she sought after, — popularity. What she did from policy, her husband, the prince, did from taste; and the encouragement and promotion of pleasure were followed by the one as a means to an end, by the other for the sake of the pleasure itself. Every morning there was a drawing-room at the princess's, and twice a week the same splendid reunion in her apartments, at night. This gave the fashion to a very wide circle; crowded assemblies, balls, masquerades, and *ridottos* became the "rage;" and from the fatigues incident thereto, the votaries of fashion found relaxation in plays and operas.

Quiet people were struck by the change which had come over court circles since the days of "Queen Anne, who had always been decent, chaste, and formal." The change indeed was great, but diverse of aspect. Thus the court of pleasure at which Caroline reigned supreme, was a court where decency was respected; respected, at least, as much as it well could be, at a time when no superabun-

dance of respect for decency was exhibited in any quarter. Still, there was not the intolerable grossness in the house of the prince which was to be met with in the very presence of his sire. Lord Chesterfield said of that sire that "he had nothing bad in him as a man," and yet he records of him that he had no respect for woman, — but some liking, it may be added, for those who had little principle and much fat. "He brought over with him," says Chesterfield, "two considerable samples of his bad taste and good stomach, — the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Darlington ; leaving at Hanover, because she happened to be a Papist, the Countess von Platen, whose weight and circumference was little inferior to theirs. These standards of his Majesty's tastes made all those ladies who aspired to his favour, and who were near the statutable size, strain and swell themselves, like the frogs in the fable, to rival the bulk and dignity of the ox. Some succeeded, and others burst." If the house of the son was not the abode of all the virtues, it at least was not the sty wherein wallowed his sire. Upon the change of fashion, Chesterfield writes to Bubb Dodington, in 1716, the year when Caroline began to be looked up to as the arbitress of fashion: "As for the gay part of the town, you would find it much more flourishing than when you left it. Balls, assemblies, and masquerades have taken the place of dull, formal, visiting days, and the women are much more agreeable trifles than they were designed. Puns are extremely in vogue, and the license very great. The variation of three or four letters in a word breaks no squares, insomuch that an indifferent punster may

make a very good figure in the best companies." The gaiety at the town residence of the prince and princess did not, however, accompany them to Richmond Lodge. There Caroline enjoyed the quiet beauties of her pretty retreat, which was, however, shared with her husband's favourite, "Mrs. Howard."

"Leicester Fields" was, nevertheless, not always such a bower of bliss as Walpole has described it, from hearsay. If the prince and ladies were on very pleasant terms, the princess and the ladies were sometimes at loggerheads, with as little regard for *bienséance* as if they had been very vulgar people; indeed, they often were exceedingly vulgar people themselves.

It was with Lord Chesterfield that Caroline Wilhelmina Dorothea was most frequently at very disgraceful issue. Lord Chesterfield was one of the prince's court, and he was possessed of an uncontrollable inclination to turn the princess into ridicule. Of course, she was made acquainted with this propensity of the refined Chesterfield by some amiable friend, who had the regard which friends, with less judgment than what they call amiability, generally have for one's failings.

Caroline, perhaps half afraid of the peer, whom she held to be a more annoying joker than a genuine wit, took a middle course by way of correcting Chesterfield. It was not the course which a woman of dignity and refinement would have adopted; but it must be remembered that, at the period in question, the princess was anxious to keep as many friends around her husband as she could muster. She consequently told Lord Chesterfield, half in jest and half

in earnest, that he had better not provoke her, for though he had a wittier, he had not so bitter a tongue as she had, and any outlay of his wit, at her cost, she was determined to pay, in her way, with an exorbitant addition of interest upon the debt he made her incur.

The noble lord had, among the other qualifications of the fine gentleman of the period, an alacrity in lying. He would gravely assure the princess that her Royal Highness was in error; that he could never presume to mimic her; and thereupon he would only watch for a turn of her head to find an opportunity for repeating the offence which he had protested could not possibly be laid to his charge.

Caroline was correct in asserting that she had a bitter tongue. It was under control, indeed; but when she gave it unrestricted freedom, its eloquence was not well savoured. Indeed her mind was far less refined than has been generally imagined. Many circumstances might be cited in proof of this assertion; but, perhaps, none is more satisfactory, or conclusive rather, than the fact that she was the correspondent of the Duchess of Orléans, whose gross epistles can be patiently read only by grossly inclined persons; but which, nevertheless, tell so much that is really worth knowing that students of history read, blush, and are delighted. Of this correspondence we shall speak in a subsequent chapter.

The Prince of Wales, dissatisfied with his residences, entered into negotiations for the purchase of Buckingham House. That mansion, of which more will be said when we come to speak of its

royal mistress, Queen Charlotte, was then occupied by the Dowager Duchess of Buckingham, she whose mother was Catherine Sedley, and whose father was James II. She was the mad duchess, who always went into mourning, and shut up Buckingham House, on the anniversary of the death of her grandfather, Charles I. The duchess thus writes of the negotiation in a letter to Mrs. Howard :

“If their Royal Highnesses will have everything stand as it is, — furniture and pictures, — I will have £3,000 per annum. Both run hazard of being spoiled; and the last, to be sure, will be all to be new bought, whenever my son is of age. The quantity the rooms take cannot be well furnished under £10,000. But if their Highnesses will permit all the pictures to be removed, and buy the furniture as it will be valued by different people, the house shall go at £2,000. If the prince or princess prefer much the buying outright, under £60,000 it will not be parted with as it now stands; and all his Majesty’s revenue cannot purchase a place so fit for them, nor for less a sum. The princess asked me at the drawing-room if I would not sell my fine house. I answered her, smiling, that I was under no necessity to part with it; yet, when what I thought was the value of it should be offered, perhaps my prudence might overcome my inclination.” Whether the sum was thought too much by the would-be purchasers, or whether the capricious duchess obeyed inclination rather than prudence, is not known; but the negotiation went no further.

It may be that the princess, who particularly affected to be desirous of furthering the interests

of English commerce, had some inclination to possess this place as occupying a portion of the locality on which James I. planted his famous mulberry garden, at a time when he was anxious to introduce the mulberry into general cultivation, for the sake of encouraging the manufacture of English silks. At all events, at the period when Caroline expressed some inclination to possess a residence, which did not fall into the hands of royalty until it became the property of Queen Charlotte, there was a mulberry garden at Chelsea, the owner of which was a Mrs. Gale. In these gardens some very rich and beautiful satin was made, from English silkworms, for the Princess of Wales, who took an extraordinary interest in the success of "the native worm." The experiments, however, patronised as they were by Caroline, did not promise a realisation of sufficient profit to warrant their being pursued any further.

The town residence of the prince and princess lacked, of course, the real charms, the quieter pleasures, of the lodge at Richmond. The estate on which the latter was built formed part of the forfeited property of the Jacobite Duke of Ormond.

The prince and princess kept a court at Richmond, which must have been one of the most pleasant resorts at which royalty has ever presided over fashion, wit, and talent. At this court the young (John) Lord Hervey was a frequent visitor, at a time when his mother, Lady Bristol, was in waiting on the princess, and his brother, Lord Carr Hervey, held the post of groom of the bedchamber to the prince. Of the personages at this "young court," the right honourable John Wilson Croker thus speaks :

“At this period, Pope, and his literary friends, were in great favour at this ‘young court,’ of which, in addition to the handsome and clever princess herself, Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Selwyn, Miss Howe, Miss Bellenden, and Miss Lepell, with Lords Chesterfield, Bathurst, Scarborough, and Hervey, were the chief ornaments. Above all, for beauty and wit were Miss Bellenden and Miss Lepell, who seem to have treated Pope, and been in return treated by him, with a familiarity that appears strange in our more decorous days. These young ladies probably considered him as no more than what Aaron Hill described him, —

“‘Tuneful Alexis, on the Thames’ fair side,
The ladies’ plaything and the Muse’s pride.’”

Mr. Croker notices that Miss Lepell was called Mrs., according to the fashion of the time. It was the custom so to designate every single lady who was old enough to be married.

Upon Richmond Lodge, Swift showered some of his most pungent verses. He was there more than once, when it was the scene of the “young court.” Of these occasions he sang, after the princess had become queen, to the following tune :

“Here wont the dean, when he’s to seek,
To sponge a breakfast once a week,
To cry the bread was stale, and mutter
Complaints against the royal butter.
But now I fear it will be said,
No butter sticks upon his bread.
We soon shall find him full of spleen,
For want of tattling to the queen ;

Stunning her royal ears with talking ;
His rev'rence and her Highness walking.
Whilst saucy Charlotte,¹ like a stroller,
Sits mounted on the garden roller.
A goodly sight to see her ride,
With ancient Mirmont at her side.
In velvet cap his head is warm,
His hat, for shame, beneath his arm."

During a large portion of the married life of George Augustus and Caroline, each was supposed to be under the influence of a woman, whose real influence was, however, overrated, and whose importance, if great, was solely so because of the undue value attached to her imaginary influence. Both those persons were of the "young court," at Leicester House and Richmond Lodge.

The women in question were Mrs. Howard, the prince's "favourite," and Mrs. Clayton, bedchamber-woman, like Mrs. Howard, to Caroline. The first lady was a daughter of a Knight of the Bath, Sir Henry Hobart. Early in life, she married Mr. Howard, "the younger brother of more than one Earl of Suffolk, to which title he at last succeeded himself, and left a son by her, who was the last earl of that branch." The young couple were but slenderly dowered ; the lady had little and her husband less. The court of Queen Anne did not hold out to them any promise of improving their fortune, and accordingly they looked around for a locality where they might not only discern the promise, but hope for its realisation. Their views rested upon Hanover and "the rising sun" there, and thither, accordingly,

¹ De Roncy.

they took their way, and there they found a welcome at the hands of the old Electress Sophia, with scanty civility at those of her grandson, the electoral prince.

At this time, the fortunes of the young adventurers were so low, and their aspirations so high, that they were unable to give a dinner to the Hanoverian minister, till Mrs. Howard found the means, by cutting off a very beautiful head of hair, and selling it. If she did this in order that she might not incur a debt, she deserves some degree of praise, for a habit of prompt payment was not a fashion of the time. The sacrifice probably sufficed ; for it was the era of full-bottomed wigs, which cost twenty or thirty guineas, and Mrs. Howard's hair, to be applied to the purpose named, may have brought her a dozen pounds, with which a very *recherché* dinner might have been given, at the period, to even the most gastronomic of Hanoverian ministers, and half a dozen secretaries of legation to boot.

The fortune sought for was seized, although it came but in a questionable shape. After the lapse of some little time, the lady had made sufficient impression on the hitherto cold Prince George Augustus to induce him, on the accession of his father to the crown of England, to appoint her one of the bed-chamber-women to his wife, Caroline, Princess of Wales.

When Mrs. Howard had won what was called the "regard" of the prince, she separated from her husband. He, it is true, had little regard for, and merited no regard from, his wife ; but he was resolved that she should attain not even a bad eminence, unless he profited by it. He was a wretched, heartless,

drunken, gambling profligate; too coarse, even, for the coarse fine gentlemen of the day. When he found himself deserted by his wife, therefore, and discovered that she had established her residence in the household of the prince, he went down to the palace, raised an uproar in the courtyard, before the guards and other persons present, and made vociferous demands for the restoration to him of a wife whom he really did not want. He was thrust out of the quadrangle without much ceremony, but he was not to be silenced. He even appears to have interested the Archbishop of Canterbury in the matter. The prelate affected to look upon the princess as the protectress of her bedchamber-woman, and the cause of the latter living separate from her husband, to whom he recommended, by letter, that she should be restored. Walpole says, further, that the archbishop delivered an epistle from Mr. Howard himself, addressed through the Princess Caroline to his wife, and that the princess "had the malicious pleasure of delivering the letter to her rival."

Mrs. Howard continued to reside under the roof of this strangely assorted household. There was no scandal excited thereby at the period, and she was safe from conjugal importunity, whether at St. James's Palace or Leicester House. "The case was altered," says Walpole, "when, on the arrival of summer, their Royal Highnesses were to remove to Richmond. Being only woman of the bedchamber, etiquette did not allow Mrs. Howard the entrée of the coach, with the princess. She apprehended that Mr. Howard might seize her upon the road. To baffle such an attempt, her friends, John, Duke of

Argyle, and his brother, the Earl of Islay, called for her in the coach of one of them by eight o'clock in the morning of the day by noon of which the prince and princess were to remove, and lodged her safely in their house at Richmond." It would appear, that after this period, the servant of Caroline and the favourite of George Augustus ceased to be molested by her husband; and, although there be no proof of that gentleman having been "bought off," he was of such character, tastes, and principles, that he cannot be thought to have been of too nice an honour to allow of his agreeing to terms of peace for pecuniary "consideration."

George thought his show of regard for Mrs. Howard would stand for proof that he was not "led" by his wife. The regard wore an outwardly Platonic aspect, and daily at the same hour the royal admirer resorted to the apartment of the lady, where an hour or two was spent in "small talk," and conversation of a generally uninteresting character.

It is very illustrative of the peculiar character of George Augustus, that his periodical visits every evening at nine, were regulated with such dull punctuality, "that he frequently walked about his chamber for ten minutes, with his watch in his hand, if the stated minute was not arrived."

Walpole also notices the more positive vexations Mrs. Howard received when Caroline became queen, whose head she used to dress, until she acquired the title of Countess of Suffolk. The queen, it is said, delighted in subjecting her to such servile offices, though always apologising to her good Howard. "Often," says Walpole, "her Majesty had more

complete triumph. It happened more than once that the king, coming into the room while the queen was dressing, has snatched off the handkerchief, and, turning rudely to Mrs. Howard, has cried, 'Because you have an ugly neck yourself, you hide the queen's.' "

One other instance may be cited here of Caroline's dislike of her good Howard. "The queen had an obscure window at St. James's that looked into a dark passage, lighted only by a single lamp at night, which looked upon Mrs. Howard's apartment. Lord Chesterfield, on Twelfth Night at court, had won so large a sum of money, that he thought it not prudent to carry it home in the dark, and deposited it with the mistress. Thence the queen inferred great intimacy, and thenceforward Lord Chesterfield could obtain no favour from court; and, finding himself desperate, went into opposition." But this is anticipating events. Let us speak of the other bedchamber-woman of the Princess of Wales, and subsequently of Queen Caroline, also a woman of considerable note in the quiet and princely circle at Leicester House, and the more brilliant reunions at St. James's and Kensington. She was a woman of fairer reputation, of greater ability, and of worse temper than Mrs. Howard. Her maiden name was Dyves, her condition was of a humble character, but her marriage with Sir Robert Clayton, a clerk in the treasury, gave her importance and position, and opportunity to improve both. Her husband, in addition to his treasury clerkship, was one of the managers of the Marlborough estates in the duke's absence, and this brought his wife to the knowledge and patronage of

the duchess. The only favour ever asked by the latter of the house of Hanover, was a post for her friend Mrs. Clayton, who soon afterward was appointed one of the bedchamber-women of Caroline, Princess of Wales.

Mrs. Clayton has been as diversely painted by Lord Hervey and Horace Walpole, as Chesterfield himself. It is not to be disputed, however, that she was a woman of many accomplishments, of not so many as her flatterers ascribe to her, but of more than were conceded to her by her enemies. The same may be said of her alleged virtues. Walpole describes her as a corrupt, pompous simpleton, and Lord Hervey as a woman of great intelligence, and rather ill-regulated temper, the latter preventing her from concealing her thoughts, let them be what they might. The noble lord intimates, rather than asserts, that she was more resigned than desirous to live at court, for the dirty company of which she was too good, but whom she had the honesty to hate but not the hypocrisy to tell them they were good. Hervey adds, that she did good, for the mere luxury which the exercise of the virtue had in itself. Others describe her as corrupt as the meanest courtier that ever lived by bribes. She would take jewels with both hands, and wear them without shame, though they were the fees of offices performed to serve others and enrich herself. The Duchess of Marlborough was ashamed of her protégée in this respect, if there be truth in the story of her Grace being indignant at seeing Mrs. Clayton wearing gems which she knew were the price of services rendered by her. Lady Wortley Montagu apologises for her by the smart

remark, that people would not know where wine was sold, if the vendor did not hang out a bush.

Of another fact there is no dispute, — the intense hatred with which Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Clayton regarded each other. The former was calm, cool, cutting, and contemptuous — but never unladylike, always self-possessed and severe. The latter was hot, eager, and for ever rendering her position untenable for want of temper, and therefore lack of argument to maintain it. Mrs. Clayton, doubtless, possessed more influence with the queen than her opponent with the king, but that influence has been vastly over-rated. Caroline only allowed it in small matters, and exercised in small ways. Mrs. Clayton was, in some respects, only her authorised representative, or the medium between her and the objects whom she delighted to relieve or to honour. The lady had some influence in bringing about introductions, in directing the queen's notice to works of merit, or to petitions for relief ; but on subjects of much higher importance Caroline would not submit to influence from the same quarter. On serious questions she had a better judgment of her own than she could be supplied with by the women of the bedchamber. The great power held by Mrs. Clayton was that with her rested to decide whether the prayer of a petitioner should or should not reach the eye of Caroline. No wonder, then, that she was flattered, and that her good offices were asked for with showers of praise and compliment to herself, by favour-seekers of every conceivable class. Peers of every degree, and their wives, bishops and poor curates, philosophers well-to-do, and authors in shreds and patches ; sages and scio-

lists; inventors, speculators, and a mob of "beggars" which cannot be classed, sought to approach Caroline through Mrs. Clayton's office, and humbly waited Mrs. Clayton's leisure, while they profusely flattered her, in order to tempt her to be active in their behalf.

Mrs. Clayton, despite her more fiery temper, is said to have been a "nicer" woman than Mrs. Howard. It must be remembered, however, that the niceness of the nice people of this period was very like that of Mrs. Mincemode, in Odingsell's comedy of "The Capricious Lovers." The latter is something akin to the delicate lady in the "Precieuses Ridicules," — the very sight of a gentleman makes her grow sick, so indelicate is the spectacle; and she refines upon the significance of phrases, till she resolves common conversation into rank offence against modesty.

Caroline not only ruled her husband without his being aware of it, but could laugh at him heartily, without hurting his feelings by allowing him to be conscious of it. Hereafter mention may be made of the sensitiveness of the court to satire; but before the death of George I., it seems to have been enjoyed, at least by Caroline, Princess of Wales, — more than it was subsequently by the same illustrious lady, when Queen of England. Doctor Arbuthnot, at the period alluded to, had occasion to write to Swift. The doctor had been publishing, by subscription, his "Tables of Ancient Coins," and was gaining very few modern specimens by his work. The dean, on the other hand, was then reaping a harvest of profit and popularity by his "Gulliver's Travels," — that book of which the puzzled Bishop of Ferns said, on coming

to the last page, that, all things considered, he did not believe a word of it!

Arbuthnot, writing to Swift on the subject of the two works, says (8th Nov., 1726) that his book had been out about a month, but that he had not yet got his subscribers' names. "I will make over," he says, "all my profits to you, for the property of 'Gulliver's Travels,' which, I believe, will have as great a run as John Bunyan. Gulliver is a happy man, that, at his age, can write such a book." Arbuthnot subsequently relates, that when he last saw the Princess of Wales, "she was reading Gulliver, and was just come to the passage of the hobbling prince, which she laughed at." The laugh was at the cost of her husband, whom Swift represented in the satire as walking with one high and low heel, in allusion to the prince's supposed vacillation between the Whigs and Tories.

The princess, however, had more regard, at all times, for sages than she had for satirists. It was at the request of Caroline that Newton drew up an abstract of a treatise on ancient chronology, first published in France, and subsequently in England. Her regard for Halley dates from an earlier period than Newton's death, or Caroline's accession. She had in 1721 pressed Halley to become the tutor of her favourite son, the Duke of Cumberland; but the great perfecter of the theory of the moon's motion was then too busy with his syzygies to be troubled with teaching the humanities to little princes. It was for the same reason that Halley resigned his post of secretary to the Royal Society.

This question of the education of the children of

the Prince and Princess of Wales was one much discussed, and not without bitterness, by the disputants on both sides. In the same year that the Princess of Wales desired to secure Halley as the instructor of William of Cumberland (1721), George I. made an earl of that Thomas Parker who, from an attorney's office, had steadily risen through the various grades of the law, had been entrusted with high commissions, and finally became lord chancellor. George I. on his accession made him Baron of Macclesfield, and in 1721 raised him to the rank of earl. He paid for the honour, by supporting the king against the Prince and Princess of Wales. The latter claimed an exclusive right of direction in the education of their children. Lord Macclesfield declared that, by law, they had no right at all to control the education of their offspring. Neither prince nor princess ever forgave him for this. They waited for the hour of repaying it; and the time soon came. In two or three years, to Macclesfield might almost have been applied the words of Pope:

“ If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined,
The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind.”

The first “Brunswick chancellor” became notorious for his malpractices — selling places, and trafficking with the funds of the suitors. His enemies resolved to impeach him, and this resolution originated at Leicester House, and was carried out with such effect that the chancellor was condemned to pay a fine of £30,000. George I., knowing that the son whom he hated was the cause of so grave, but just, a consequence, promised to repay to the ex-chancellor the

amount of the fine which Lord Macclesfield had himself paid, a few days after the sentence, by the mortgage of a valuable estate. The king, however, was rather slow in acquitting himself of his promise. He forwarded one instalment of £1,000, but he paid no more, death supervening and preventing the further performance of a promise only made to annoy his son and his son's wife.

In one respect Lord Macclesfield and the Princess of Wales resembled each other, — in entertaining a curious feeling of superstition. It will be seen, hereafter, how certain Caroline felt that she should die on a Wednesday, and for what reasons. So, like her, but with more accuracy, the fallen Macclesfield pointed out the day for his decease. In his disgrace he had devoted himself to science and religion. He was, however, distracted by a malady which was aggravated by grief, if not remorse. Doctor Pearce, his constant friend, called on him one day, and found him very ill. Lord Macclesfield said: "My mother died of the same disorder on the eighth day, and so shall I." On the eighth day his prophecy was fulfilled; and the Leicester House party were fully avenged.

The feelings of both prince and princess were for ever in excess. Thus both appeared to have entertained a strong sentiment of aversion against their eldest child, Frederick. Caroline did not bring him with her to this country when she herself first came over to take up her residence here. Frederick was born at Hanover, on the 20th January, 1707. He was early instructed in the English language; but he disliked study of every description, and made but

little progress in this particular branch. As a child, he was remarkable for his spitefulness and cunning. He was yet a youth when he drank like any German baron of old, played as deeply as he drank, and entered heart and soul into other vices, which not only corrupted both, but his body also. His tutor was scandalised by his conduct, and complained of it grievously. Caroline was, at that time, given to find excuses for conduct with which she did not care to be so far troubled as to censure it; and she remarked, that the escapades complained of were mere page's tricks. "Would to Heaven, they were no more!" exclaimed the worthy governor; "but in truth they are tricks of grooms and scoundrels." The prince spared his friends as little as his foes, and his heart was as vicious as his head was weak.

Caroline had little affection for this child, whom she would have willingly defrauded of his birthright. At one time she appears to have been inclined to secure the electorate of Hanover for William, and to allow Frederick to succeed to the English throne. At another time, she was as desirous, it is believed, of advancing William to the crown of England, and making over the electorate to Frederick. How far these intrigues were carried on is hardly known, but that they existed is matter of notoriety. The law presented a barrier which could not, however, be broken down; but, nevertheless, Lord Chesterfield, in his character of the princess, intimated that she was busy with this project throughout her life.

Frederick was not permitted to come to England during any period of the time that his parents were

Prince and Princess of Wales. An English title or two may be said to have been flung to him across the water. Thus, in 1717, he was created Duke of Gloucester, and the Garter was sent to him the following year. In 1726 he became Duke of Edinburgh. He never occupied a place in the hearts of either his father or mother.

It is but fair to the character of the Princess of Wales to say that, severe as was the feeling entertained by herself against Lord Macclesfield, — a feeling shared in by her consort, — neither of them ever after entertained any ill feeling against Philip Yorke, subsequently Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who defended his friend Lord Macclesfield, with great fearlessness, at the period of his celebrated trial. Only once, in after-life, did George II. visit Lord Hardwicke with a severe rebuff. The learned lord was avaricious, discouraging to those who sought to rise in their profession, and caring only for the advancement of his own relations. He was once seeking for a place for a distant relation, when the husband of Caroline exclaimed, "You are always asking favours, and I observe that it is invariably in behalf of some one of your family or kinsmen." We shall hereafter find Caroline making allusions to "Judge Gripus," as a character in a play, but it was a name given to Lord Hardwicke, on account of his "meanness." This feeling was shared by his wife. The expensively embroidered velvet purse in which the great seal is carried was renewed every year during Lord Hardwicke's time. Each year, Lady Hardwicke ordered that the velvet should be of the length of one of her state rooms at Wimpole. In course of time,

the prudent lady obtained enough to tapestry the room with the legal velvet, and to make curtains and hangings for a state bed, which stood in the apartment. Well might Pope have said of these :

“ Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life ?
Look but on Gripus and on Gripus' wife.”

But this is again anticipating the events of history. Let us go back to 1721, when Caroline and her husband exercised a courage which caused great admiration in the saloons of Leicester House, and a doubtful sort of applause throughout the country. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had just reported the successful results of inoculation for the smallpox, which she had witnessed at Constantinople. Doctor Mead was ordered by the prince to inoculate six criminals who had been condemned to death, but whose lives were spared for this experiment. It succeeded admirably, and the patients were more satisfied by the result of the experiment than any one besides. In the year following, Caroline allowed Doctor Mead to inoculate her two daughters, and the doctor ultimately became physician in ordinary to her husband.

The medical appointments made by Caroline and her husband certainly had a political motive. Thus, the Princess of Wales persuaded her husband to name Friend his physician in ordinary, just after the latter had been liberated from the Tower, where he had suffered incarceration for daring to defend Atterbury in the House of Commons, when the bishop was accused of being guilty of treason. Caroline always had a high esteem for Friend, independently of his political opinions, and one of her first acts, on ceasing

to be Princess of Wales, was to make Friend physician to the queen.

It is said by Swift that the Princess of Wales sent for him to Leicester Fields, no less than nine times, before he would obey the reiterated summons. When he did appear before Caroline, he roughly remarked that he understood she liked to see odd persons; that she had lately inspected a wild boy from Germany, and that now she had the opportunity of seeing a wild parson from Ireland. Swift declares that the court in Leicester Fields was very anxious to settle him in England, but it may be doubted whether the anxiety was very sincere. Swift's declaration that he had no anxiety to be patronised by the Princess of Wales was probably as little sincere. The patronage sometimes exercised there was mercilessly sneered at by Swift. Thus Caroline had expressed a desire to do honour to Gay, but when the post offered was only that of a gentleman usher to the little Princess Caroline, Swift was bitterly satirical on the Princess of Wales supposing that the poet Gay would be willing to act as a sort of male nurse to a little girl of two years of age.

The Prince of Wales was occasionally as cavalierly treated by the ladies as the princess by the men. One of the maids of honour of Caroline, the well-known Miss Bellenden, would boldly stand before him with her arms folded, and when asked why she did so, would toss her pretty head, and laughingly exclaim that she did so, not because she was cold, but that she chose to stand with her arms folded. When her own niece became maid of honour to Queen Caroline, and audacious Miss Bellenden was

a grave married lady, she instructively warned her young relative not to be so imprudent a maid of honour as her aunt had been before her.

But strange things were done by princes and princesses in those days, as well as by those who waited on them. For instance, in 1725, it is reported by Miss Dyves, maid of honour to the Princess Amelia, daughter of the Princess of Wales, that "the prince, and everybody but myself, went last Friday to Bartholomew Fair. It was a fine day, so he went by water; and I, being afraid, did not go; after the fair, they supped at the King's Arms, and came home about four o'clock in the morning." An heir apparent, and part of his family and consort, going by water from Richmond to "Bartlemy Fair," supping at a tavern, staying out all night, and returning home not long before honest men breakfasted, was not calculated to make royalty respectable.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST YEARS OF A REIGN

Death of George the First — Adroitness of Sir Robert Walpole — The First Royal Reception — Unceremonious Treatment of the Late King's Will — The Coronation — Magnificent Dress of Queen Caroline — Mrs. Oldfield, in Queen Catherine, in "Henry VIII." — The King's Revenue, and the Queen's Jointure, the Result of Walpole's Exertions — His Success — Management of the King by Queen Caroline — Unseemly Dialogue between Walpole and Lord Townshend — Gay's "Beggar's Opera," and Satire on Walpole — Origin of the Opera — Its Great Success — Gay's Cause Espoused by the Duchess of Queensberry — Her Smart Reply to a Royal Message — The Tragedy of "Frederick, Duke of Brunswick" — The Queen Appointed Regent — Prince Frederick Becomes Chief of the Opposition — His Silly Reflections on the King — Agitation about the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts — The Queen's Ineffectual Efforts to Gain over Bishop Hoadly — Sir Robert Extricates Himself — The Church Made the Scapegoat — Queen Caroline Earnest About Trifles — Etiquette of the Toilet — Fracas between Mr. Howard and the Queen — Modest Request of Mrs. Howard — Lord Chesterfield's Description of Her.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE was sojourning at Chelsea, and thinking of nothing less than of the demise of a king, when news was brought him, by a messenger from Lord Townshend, at three o'clock in the afternoon of June 14, 1727, that his late Most Sacred Majesty was then lying dead in the Westphalian palace of his Serene Highness the Bishop of Osnaburgh. Sir Robert immediately hurried to Richmond,

in order to be the first to do homage to the new sovereigns, George and Caroline. George accepted the homage with much complacency, and on being asked by Sir Robert as to the person whom the king would select to draw up the usual address to the privy council, George II. mentioned the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Spenser Compton.

This was a civil way of telling Sir Robert that his services as prime minister were no longer required. He was not pleased at being supplanted, but neither was he wrathfully little-minded against his successor, — a successor so incompetent for his task that he was obliged to have recourse to Sir Robert to assist him in drawing up the address above alluded to. Sir Robert rendered the assistance with much heartiness, but was not the less determined, if possible, to retain his office, in spite of the personal dislike of the king, and of that of the queen, whom he had offended, when she was Princess of Wales, by speaking of her as "that fat beast, the prince's wife." Sir Robert could easily make poor Sir Spenser communicative with regard to his future intentions. The latter was a stiff, gossiping, soft-hearted creature, and might very well have taken for his motto the words of Parmeno in the play of Terence, "*Plenus rimarum sum.*" He intimated that on first meeting Parliament he should propose an allowance of £60,000 per annum to be made to the queen. "I will make it £40,000 more," said Sir Robert, subsequently, through a second party, to Queen Caroline, "if my office of minister be secured to me." Caroline was delighted at the idea, intimated that Sir Robert might be sure "the fat beast" had friendly

feelings toward him, and then hastening to the king, over whose weaker intellect her more masculine mind held rule, explained to her royal husband that, as Compton considered Walpole the fittest man to be, what he had so long been with efficiency, — prime minister, — it would be a foolish act to nominate Compton himself to the office. The king acquiesced, Sir Spenser was made president of the council, and Sir Robert not only persuaded Parliament, without difficulty, to settle one hundred thousand a year on the queen, but he also persuaded the august trustees of the people's money to add the entire revenue of the civil list, about £130,000 a year, to the annual sum of £700,000, which had been settled as the proper revenue for a king. Sir Robert had thus the wit to bribe king and queen, out of the funds of the people, and we cannot be surprised that their Majesties looked upon him and his as true allies. Indeed Caroline did not wait for the success of the measure in order to show her confidence in Walpole. Their Majesties had removed from Richmond to their temporary palace in Leicester Fields, on the very evening of their receiving notice of their accession to the crown; and the next day, all the nobility and gentry in town crowded to kiss their hands. "My mother," says Horace Walpole, "among the rest, who, Sir Spenser Compton's designation and not his evaporation being known, could not make her way between the scornful backs and elbows of her late devotees, nor could approach nearer to the queen than the third or fourth row; but no sooner was she descried by her Majesty than the queen said aloud: 'There I am sure I see a friend!' The torrent divided

and shrank to either side, 'and as I came away,' said my mother, 'I might have walked over their heads, had I pleased.' "

When Louis XIV., perhaps not without some surprise, found that his "grandeur" did not confer upon him the benefit hinted at in the sermon of a court chaplain, to the effect that "all men—that is, almost all men—must die!" he at least comforted himself with one consideration, namely, that he had placed his illegitimate children in the line of succession to the throne, and that of course this, his will, made when living, would be respected after he should be dead. But the ass in the fable was not more scornful of the sick lion than the French people were of the dead king. No sooner was he fairly entombed in the vaults of St. Denis, than his will was quashed with as little ceremony as if it had been a fraudulent document,—as indeed it was, the fraud of a king who thought he could overturn law as he lay in the grave. Generally speaking, the "wills" of despots are antagonistic to despotism; but the last testament of Louis would have made of the French people the slaves of a despot dead and disembowelled.

George I. does not appear to have remembered the instruction which he might have drawn from the circumstance of the quashing of the will of so irresponsible a monarch as Louis XIV. He calmly drew up a will which he coolly thought his successor would respect. Perhaps he remembered that his son believed in ghosts and vampires, and would fulfil a dead man's will out of mere terror of a dead man's visitation. But George Augustus had no such fear, nor any such respect as that noticed above.

At the first council held by George II., Doctor Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose hands George I. had deposited his last will and testament, produced that precious instrument, placed it before the king, and composed himself to hear the instructions of the deceased parent recited by his heir. The new king, however, put the paper in his pocket, walked out of the room, never uttered a word more upon the subject, and general rumour subsequently proclaimed that the royal will had been dropped into the fire by the testator's son.

That testator, however, had been a destroyer of wills himself. He had burnt that of the poor old Duke of Zell, and he had treated in like manner the last will of Sophia Dorothea. The latter document favoured both his children more than he approved, and the king, who could do no wrong, committed a felonious act, which for a common criminal would have purchased a halter. Being given to this sort of iniquity himself, he naturally thought ill of the heir whom he looked upon as bound to respect the will of his father. To bind him the more securely to such an observance, he left two duplicates of his will; one of which was deposited with the Duke of Wolfenbüttel, the other with another German prince, whose name has not been revealed, and both were given up by the depositaries for fee and reward duly paid for the service. The copies were destroyed in the same way as the original. What instruction was set down in this document has never been ascertained. Walpole speaks of a reported legacy of £40,000 to the king's surviving mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, and of a subsequent compromise

made with the husband of the duchess's "niece" and heiress, Lady Walsingham, — a compromise which followed upon a threatened action at law. Something similar is said to have taken place with the King of Prussia, to whose wife, the daughter of George I., the latter monarch was reported to have bequeathed a considerable legacy.

However this may be, the surprise of the council and the consternation of the primate were excessive. The latter dignitary was the last man, however, who could with propriety have blamed a fellow man for acting contrary to what was expected of him. He himself had been the warmest advocate of religious toleration until he reached the primacy, and had an opportunity for the exercise of a little harshness toward dissenters. The latter were as much astonished at their ex-advocate as the latter was astounded by the act of the king.

We will not further allude to the coronation of George and Caroline than by saying that, on the occasion in question, these sovereigns displayed a gorgeousness of taste of a somewhat barbarous quality. The coronation was the most splendid which had been seen for years. George, despite his low stature and fair hair, which heightened the weakness of his expression at this period, was said to be, on this occasion, "every inch a king." He enjoyed the splendour of the scene and of himself, and thought it cheaply purchased at the cost of much fatigue.

Caroline was not inferior to her lord. It is true, that of crown jewels she had none save a pearl necklace, the solitary spoil left of all the gems, "rich and

rare," which had belonged to Queen Anne, and which had, for the most part, been distributed by the late king among his favourites of every degree. Had his daughter, the Queen of Prussia, been among those for whom he affected some attachment, it is possible that a few relics of the crown, or, rather, national property, might yet be found among the treasures of Berlin. However this may be, Caroline wore, on the occasion of her crowning, not only the pearl necklace of Queen Anne, but "she had on her head and shoulders all the pearls and necklaces which she could borrow from the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other ; so," adds Lord Hervey, from whom this detail is taken, "the appearance and the truth of her finery was a mixture of magnificence and meanness, not unlike the *éclat* of royalty in many other particulars, when it comes to be nicely examined, and its sources traced to what money hires and flattery lends."

The queen dressed for the grand ceremony in a private room at Westminster. Early in the morning she put on "an undress" at St. James's, of which we are interestingly told that "everything was new." She was carried across St. James's Park privately in a chair, bearing no distinctive mark upon it, and preceded, at a short distance, by the lord chancellor and Mrs. Howard, both of whom were in "hack sedans." She was dressed by that lady. Mrs. Herbert, another bedchamber-woman, would fain have shared in the honour, but as she was herself in full dress for the ceremony, she was pronounced incapable of attiring her who was to be the heroine of it. At the con-

clusion of the august affair, the queen unrobed in an adjacent apartment, and, as in the morning, was smuggled back to St. James's in a private chair.

Magnificent as Caroline was in borrowed finery at her coronation, she was excelled, in point of show, by Mrs. Oldfield, on the stage at Drury Lane. The theatre was closed on the night of the real event. The government had no idea then of dividing a multitude, but the management expended a thousand pounds in getting up the pageant of the crowning of Anne Boleyn at the close of "Henry VIII." In this piece Booth made Henry the principal character, and Cibber's Wolsey sank to a second-rate part. The pageant, however, was so attractive, that it was often played, detached from the piece, at the conclusion of a comedy or any other play. Caroline went more than once with her royal consort to witness this representation, an honour which was refused to the more vulgar show, which had but indifferent success, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Were there "cause and consequence" in these facts, and in the subsequent refusal of Cibber to accept the "Beggar's Opera," and the eager reception by Rich of the same piece, which was afterward represented to the great annoyance of court and cabinet, allegedly satirised therein?

The king's revenue, as settled upon him by the Whig Parliament, was larger than any of our kings had before enjoyed. Caroline's jointure, £100,000 a year, with Somerset House and Richmond Lodge, was double that which had been granted previously to any queen. This success had been so notoriously the result of Walpole's exertions, that the husband of Caroline, who dealt in very strong terms, began to

look complacently on the "rogue and rascal," thought his brother Horace bearable, in spite of his being, as George used to call him, "scoundrel," "fool," and "dirty buffoon," and he even felt less averse than usual to the two secretaries of state of Walpole's administration, the Duke of Newcastle, the "impertinent fool," whom he had threatened at the christening of William, Duke of Cumberland, and Lord Townshend, whom he was wont to designate as a "choleric block-head." The issue of the affair was that, of Walpole's cabinet, no one went out but the minister's son-in-law, Lord Malpas, roughly ejected from the mastership of the robes, and "Stinking Yonge," as the king used elegantly to designate Sir William, who was turned out of the commission of treasury, and whose sole little failings were, that he was "pitiful, corrupt, contemptible, and a great liar," though, as Lord Hervey says, "rather a mean than a vicious one," which does not seem to me to mend the matter, and which is a distinction without a difference. After all, Sir William only dived to come up fresh again. And Lord Malpas performed the same feat.

Henceforth it was understood by every lady, says Lord Hervey, "that Sir Robert was the queen's minister; that whoever he favoured she distinguished, and whoever she distinguished the king employed." The queen ruled without seeming to rule. She was mistress by power of suggestion. A word from her in public, addressed to the king, generally earned for her a rebuke. Her consort so pertinaciously declared that he was independent, and that she never meddled with public business of any kind, that every one, even the early dupes of the assertion, ceased at

last to put any faith in it. Caroline "not only meddled with business, but directed everything which came under that name, either at home or abroad." It is too much, perhaps, to say that her power was unrivalled and unbounded, but it was, doubtless, great, and purchased at great cost. That she could induce her husband to employ a man whom he had not yet learned to like, was in itself no small proof of her power, considering the peculiarly obstinate disposition of the monarch.

Her recommendation of Walpole was not based, it is believed, upon any very exalted motives. Walpole himself, in his official connections with the sovereign, was certainly likely to take every advantage of the opportunity to create favourable convictions of his ability. Caroline, in praising his ability to the king, suggested that Sir Robert was rich enough to be honest, and had so little private business of his own, that he had all the more leisure to devote to that of the king. "New leeches would be not the less hungry;" and with this very indifferent sort of testimony to her favourite's worth Caroline secured a servant for the king and a minister for herself.

The tact of the queen was so admirable, that the husband, who followed her counsel in all things, never even himself suspected but that he was leading her. This was the very triumph of the queen's art, and the crowning proof of the simplicity and silliness of the king. It is said that he sneered at Charles I. for being governed by his wife; at Charles II. for being governed by his mistresses; at James led by priests; at William duped by men; at Queen Anne

deceived by her favourites ; and at his father, who allowed himself to be ruled by any one who could approach him. And he finished his catalogue of scorn by proudly asking, "Who governs now?" The courtiers probably smiled behind their jaunty hats. The wits, and some of them were courtiers, too, answered the query more roughly, and they remarked, in rugged rhyme and bad grammar :

" You may strut, dapper George, but 'twill all be in vain ;
We know 'tis Queen Caroline, not you that reign —
You govern no more than Don Philip of Spain.
Then if you would have us fall down and adore you,
Lock up your fat spouse, as your dad did before you."

The two were otherwise described by other poetasters, as —

" So strutting a king and so prating a queen."

It is a fact, at which we need not be surprised, that the most cutting satires against the king, as led by his wife, were from the pens of female writers, — or said to be so. And this is likely enough ; for in no quarter is there so much contempt for a man who leans upon, rather than supports, his wife. The court certainly offered good opportunity for the satirists to make merry with. It is said of the court of Anne of Brittany, the wife of two Kings of France, Charles VIII. and Louis XII., that it was so renowned for the perfection of its morality and correctness of conduct, that to gain a bride from amongst the young ladies who composed the suite of the queen was the object of ambition with all the nobles of the

time, and to be permitted to place their daughters under her eye was the most anxious wish of all the mothers who desired to see them respected and admired. The court of Caroline, it must be confessed, was far beneath the high standard of that of the lady who brought the duchy of Brittany with her as a dowry to France. There was not much female delicacy in it, and still less manly dignity, — even in the presence of the queen herself. Thus we hear, for instance, of Caroline, one evening, at Windsor, asking Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend where they had dined that day? My lord replied that he had dined with Lord and Lady Trevor, an aged couple, and the lady remarkable for her more than ordinary plainness. Whereupon Sir Robert, with considerable latitude of expression, intimated, jokingly, that his friend was paying political court to the lord, in order to veil a court of another kind addressed to the lady. Lord Townshend, not understanding raillery on such a topic, grew angry, and in defending himself against the charge of seducing old Lady Trevor, was not content with employing phrases of honest indignation alone, but used illustrations that no “lord” would ever think of using before a lady. Caroline grew uneasy, not at the growing indelicacy of phrase, but at the angry feelings of the Peachum and Lockit of the court: and “to prevent Lord Townshend’s replying, or the thing being pushed any further, only laughed, and began immediately to talk on some other subject.”¹

The mention of the heroes in Gay’s opera serves to remind me that, in 1729, the influence of the

¹ Lord Hervey’s *Memoirs*, etc., of the Court of Queen Caroline.

queen was again exerted to lead the king to do what he had not himself dreamed of doing.

Sir Robert Walpole must have been more "thin-skinned" than he is usually believed to have been, if he could really have felt wounded, as it would appear was the case, by the alleged satire of the "Beggar's Opera." The public would seem to have been the authors of such satire rather than Gay, for they made application of many passages, to which the writer of them probably attached no personal meaning.

The origin of the piece was certainly not political. It was a mere Newgate pastoral put into an operatic form, and intended to ridicule, what it succeeded in overthrowing for a season, the newly introduced Italian opera. The piece had been refused by Cibber, and was accepted by Rich, who brought it out at Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the 29th of January, 1728, with such success, that it was said of it, — that it made Gay rich, and Rich gay. Walker was his Macheath, and Miss Fenton, afterward Duchess of Bolton, the Polly, — a character in which she was not approached by either of her three immediate successors, Miss Warren, Miss Cantrell, or sweet Kitty Clive. Some of the passages, seized upon as satires on Walpole, Townshend, and Walpole's daughter, "Molly Skerrett," seem as harmless of satire as Spiller was, who played Mat o' the Mint, and who shortly after died of apoplexy, while acting in the "Rape of Proserpine;" a catastrophe which might be as reasonably called a satire upon the apoplectic destiny of George I., as that all the passages of the opera were originally intended as caricatures of the

administration. Johnson says of the piece that it was plainly written only to divert, — without any moral purpose, and therefore not likely to do good. This is the truth, no doubt ; and if Gay put in a few strong passages just previous to representation, it was the public application which gave them double force. Perhaps the application would have been stronger if Quin had originally played, as was intended, the part of Macheath. To step from Macbeth to the highwayman might have had a political signification given to it ; and, indeed, Quin did play and sing the captain one night for his benefit, — just as another great tragedian, Young, did, within our own recollection. However, never had piece such success. It was played at every theatre in the kingdom, and every audience was as keenly alive for passages which could be applied against the court and government, as they were for mere ridicule against the Italian opera.

Caroline herself was probably not opposed to the *morale* of the piece. Her own chair-men were suspected of being in league with highwaymen, and probably were ; but on their being arrested, and dismissed from her service by the master of her household, who suspected their guilt, she was indignant at the liberty taken, and insisted on their being restored. She had no objection to be safely carried by suspected confederates of highwaymen.

The poverty of "Polly" could not render it exempt from being made the scapegoat for the "Beggar's Opera," in which Walpole, from whom Gay could not obtain a place, was said to be "shown up," night after night, as a thief, and the friend of thieves. The

"Beggar's Opera" had a run before its satire was felt by him against whom it was chiefly directed. "Polly" is very stupid, and not satirical, but it was a favourite with the author. The latter, therefore, was especially annoyed at receiving an injunction from the lord chamberlain's office, obtained at the request of Sir Robert, whereby the representation of "Polly" was forbidden in every theatre. The poet determined to shame his enemies by printing the piece with a smart political supplement annexed.

Gay was the "spoiled child" of the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry. They espoused his cause, and the duchess was especially active, urgent, and successful in procuring subscriptions, — compelling them, by gentle violence, even from the most reluctant. This zeal for the vexed poet went so far, that the duchess solicited subscriptions even in the queen's apartment, and in the royal drawing-room. There was something pleasant in making even the courtiers subscribe toward the circulating of a piece which royalty, through its official, had prohibited from being acted. The zealous duchess was thus busy with three or four gentlemen, in one corner of the room, when the king came upon them, and inquired the nature of her business. "It is a matter of humanity and charity," said her Grace, "and I do not despair but that your Majesty will contribute to it." The monarch disappointed Gay's patroness in this respect, but he exhibited no symptom whatever of displeasure, and left her to her levying occupation. Subsequently, however, in the queen's apartment, the subject was talked over between the royal pair, and not till then did George perceive that the conduct of

the duchess was so impertinent that it was necessary to forbid her appearing again, at least for the present, at court.

The king's vice-chamberlain, Mr. Stanhope, was despatched with a verbal message to this effect. The manner and the matter equally enraged Gay's patroness, and she delivered a note of acknowledgment to the vice-chamberlain, in which she stated that she was both surprised and gratified at the royal and agreeable command to stay away from court, seeing that she had never gone there but for her own diversion, and also from a desire of showing some civility to the king and queen! The lively lady further intimated, that perhaps it was as well that they who dared to speak, or even think, truth, should be kept away from a court where it was unpalatable; although she had thought that in supporting truth and innocence in the palace, she was paying the very highest compliment possible to both their Majesties.

When the note was completed, the writer gave it to Mr. Stanhope to read. The stiff vice-chamberlain felt rather shocked at the tone, and politely advised the duchess to think better of the matter, and write another note. Her Grace consented, but the second edition was so more highly spiced, and so more pungent than the first, that the officer preferred taking the latter, which he must have placed before king and queen with a sort of decent horror, appropriate to a functionary of his polite vocation. The duchess lost the royal favour, and the duke, her husband, lost his posts.

After all, it seems singular that, while so stupid a piece as "Polly" was prohibited, the representation

of the "Beggar's Opera" still went on. The alleged offence was thus seemingly permitted, while visitation was made on an unoffending piece; and subscriptions for the printing of that piece were asked for, as we have seen, by the Duchess of Queensberry, in the very apartments of the sovereign, who is said to have been most offended at the poet's alleged presumption.

Other poets and the players advanced in the good will of Caroline and her house by producing pieces complimentary to the Brunswick family. Thus Rich, who had offended the royal family by getting up the "Beggar's Opera," in January, 1728, produced Mrs. Haywood's tragedy of "Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lunebourg," in March, 1729. The authoress dedicated her play to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and her object in writing it was to represent one of the ancestors of his Royal Highness as raised to the imperial throne in consequence of his virtues. It may be a question whether Caroline or her husband, or son, could approve of a subject which exhibited the Brunswick monarch falling under the dagger of an assassin. However this may be, the public was indifferent to the piece and its object; and, after being represented three times, it disappeared for ever and left the stage to be again occupied by the "Beggar's Opera," — Peachum (Walpole), Lockit (Townshend), and Mat o' the Mint, type of easy financiers, who gaily bid the public "stand and deliver!"

On the first occasion on which George I. left England to visit Hanover, he appointed the Prince of Wales regent of the kingdom during his absence. The prince, in spite of his limited powers, — he was unable to act, on the smallest point, without the

sanction of ministers, — contrived to gain considerable and well-deserved popularity. George never again allowed him to hold the same honourable office; and the son and father hated each other ever after. In the May of this year, that son, now king, quitted England in order to visit the electorate, but he did not appoint Frederick, Prince of Wales, as regent during his absence. He delegated that office to the queen, and most probably by the queen's advice. Frederick had not been long in London before the opposition party made him, if not their chief, at least their rallying-point. The prince hated his father heartily and openly, and he had as little regard for his mother. When application was made to Parliament to pay some alleged deficiencies in the civil list, Frederick was particularly severe on the extravagance of his sire, and the method adopted to remedy it. He talked loudly of what he would have done in a similar extremity, or rather of how he would never have allowed himself to fall into so extreme a difficulty. He was doubly in the wrong, — "in the first place, for saying what he ought only to have thought; and, in the next, for not thinking what he ought not to have said." It was not likely, even if the king had been so disposed, that the queen would have consented to an arrangement which would have materially diminished her own consequence. She was accordingly invested with the office of regent, and she performed its duties with a grace and an efficiency which caused universal congratulation that the post had not been confided to other, and necessarily weaker, hands. She had Sir Robert Walpole at her side to aid her with his counsel, and the pres-

ence of the baronet's enemy, Lord Townshend, with the king, had no effect in damaging the power effectively administered by Caroline and her great minister.

It was not merely during the absence of the king in Hanover that Caroline may be said to have ruled in England. The year 1730 affords us an illustration on this point.

The dissenters, who had originally consented to the Test and Corporation Acts, upon a most unselfish ground, — for they sacrificed their own interest, in order that the Romanists might be prevented from being admitted to places of power and trust, — now demanded the repeal of those acts. The request perplexed the Crown and ministry, especially when an election was pending. To promise the dissenters (and it was more especially the Presbyterians who moved in this matter) relief, would be to deprive the Crown of the votes of churchmen; and to reject the petition, would be to set every dissenter against the government and its candidates. Sir Robert Walpole, in his perplexity, looked around for a good genius to rescue him from the dilemma in which he was placed. He paused, on considering Hoadly, Bishop of Salisbury. The bishop was the very *deus ex machinâ*, most needed, but he had been shabbily treated on matters of preferment; and Walpole, who had face for most things, had not the face to ask help from a man whom he had ill-treated. The queen stepped in, and levelled the difficulty.

Caroline sent for Hoadly to come to her at Kensington. She received the prelate with affability, and overwhelmed him with flattery, compliments on his ability, and grateful expressions touching his zeal, and

the value of his services, in the king's cause. She had now, she said, a further service to ask at his hands; and, of course, it was one which demanded of him no sacrifice of opinion or consistency: the queen would have been the last person to ask such a thing of the reverend prelate! The service was this. The dissenters required the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The government did not dispute their right to have such a concession made to them, but it did feel that the moment was inconvenient; and, therefore, Bishop Hoadly, for whom the whole body of dissenters entertained the most profound respect, was solicited to make this opinion known to them, and to induce them to defer their petition to a more favourable opportunity.

The queen supported her request by such close and cogent arguments, flattered the bishop so adroitly, and drew such a picture of the possibly deplorable results of an attempt to force the repeal of the acts alluded to, at the present moment, that Hoadly may be excused if he began to think that the stability of the house of Hanover depended on the course he should take in this conjuncture. He was not, however, to be cajoled out of his opinions, or his independence; he pronounced the restrictive acts unreasonable, politically — and profane, theologically. He added, that, as a friend to religious and civil liberty, he would vote for the repeal, whenever, and by whomsoever, proposed. He should stultify himself, if he did otherwise. All that was in his "little power," consistent with his honour and reputation, he would, nevertheless, willingly do. If he could be clearly convinced that the present moment was un-

propitious for pressing the demand, and perilous to the stability of the government, he would not fail to urge upon the dissenters to postpone presenting their petition, until the coming of a more favourable opportunity.

The out-of-door world no sooner heard of this interview between the queen and the prelate, than a report arose that her Majesty had succeeded in convincing the right reverend father that the claims of the dissenters were unreasonable, and that the bishop, as a consequence of such conviction, would henceforth oppose them resolutely.

Hoadly became alarmed, for such a report damaged all parties; and he was very anxious to maintain a character for consistency, and at the same time not to lose his little remnant of interest at court. He tried in vain to get a promise from Sir Robert, that, if the dissenters would defer preferring their claims until the meeting of a new Parliament, it should then meet with the government support. Sir Robert was too wary to make such a promise, although he hinted his conviction of the reasonableness of the claim, and that it would be supported when so preferred. But the bishop, in his turn, was too cautious to allow himself to be caught by so flimsy an encouragement; and he was admitted to several subsequent consultations with the queen; but, clever as she was, she could not move the bishop. Hoadly was resolved that the dissenters should know that, if he thought they might with propriety defer their petition, he would uphold its prayer whenever presented.

In the meantime, Sir Robert extricated himself and the government cleverly. Caroline doubtless enjoyed

this exercise of his ability, as well as its results. The dissenters, organising an agitation, had established a central committee in London, all the members of which were bound to Sir Robert; "all monied men, and scriveners, and chosen by his contrivance. They spoke only to be prompted, and acted only as he guided." ¹ This committee had a solemnly farcical meeting with the administration, to hold a consultation in the matter. Sir Robert and the speakers confined themselves to the unseasonableness, but commended the reasonableness of the petition. "My lord president looked wise, was dull, took snuff, and said nothing. Lord Harrington (the Mr. Stanhope who had waited on the Duchess of Queensberry) took the same silent, passive part. The lord chancellor (King) and the Duke of Newcastle had done better, had they followed that example, too; but both spoke very plentifully, and were both equally unintelligible; the one (King) from having lost his understanding, and the other from never having had any." ²

The committee, after this interview, came to the resolution, that if a petition were presented to Parliament now, in favour of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, "there was no prospect of success." This resolution saved the administration from the storm threatened by the Presbyterian party. That party considered itself betrayed by its own delegates, the queen and Sir Robert were well satisfied with the result, and the bishop was looked upon by the dissenters as having supported their cause too little, and by the queen's cabinet as having supported it too much.

In this case it may, perhaps, be fairly asserted that

¹ Lord Hervey. ² Lord Hervey.

the queen and the minister, while they punished the dissenters, caused the blame to fall upon the Church. Their chief argument was, that the opposition of the clergy would be a source of the greatest embarrassment to the administration. It had long been the fashion to make the Church suffer, at least in reputation, on every occasion when opportunity offered, and without any thought as to whether the establishment deserved it or not. It was in politics precisely as it was in Sir John Vanbrugh's comedy of the "Provoked Wife." It will be remembered that, in that dramatic mirror, which represents nature as objects are seen reflected in flawed glass, when the tailor enters with a bundle, the elegant Lord Rake exclaims, "Let me see what's in that bundle!" "An't please you," says the tailor, "it is the doctor of the parish's gown." "The doctor's gown!" cries my lord, and then, turning to Sir John Brute, he exultingly inquires, or requires, "Hark you, knight; you won't stick at abusing the clergy, will you?" "No!" shouts Brute, "I'm drunk, and I'll abuse anything!" "Then," says Lord Rake, "you shall wear this gown whilst you charge the watch; that though the blows fall upon you, the scandal may light upon the Church!" "A generous design, by all the gods!" is the ecstatic consent of the pantheistic Brute—and it is one to which Amen! has been cried by many of the Brute family, since first it was uttered by their illustrious predecessor.

Meanwhile, Caroline could be as earnest and interested upon trifles as she was upon questions of political importance. She loved both to plague and to talk about Mrs. Howard.

That the queen was not more courteous to this lady than their respective positions demanded, there is abundant evidence. In a very early period of the reign, she was required, as bedchamber-woman, to present a basin for the queen to wash her hands in, and to perform the service kneeling. The etiquette was, for the basin and ewer to be set on the queen's table by a page of the back stairs : the office of the bedchamber-woman was then to take both, pour out the water, set it before the queen, and remain kneeling while her Majesty washed, of which refreshing ceremony the kneeling attendant was the only one who dared be the ocular witness.

This service of genuflexion remained in courtly fashion till the death of Queen Charlotte. In the meantime, Mrs. Howard was by no means disposed to render it to Queen Caroline. The scene which ensued was highly amusing. On the service being demanded, said Caroline to Lord Hervey, "Mrs. Howard proceeded to tell me, with her little fierce eyes, and cheeks as red as your coat, that, positively, she would not do it ; to which I made her no answer then in anger, but calmly, as I would have said to a naughty child : 'Yes, my dear Howard, I am sure you will. I know you will. Go, go ; fie for shame ! Go, my good Howard ; we will talk of this another time.' Mrs. Howard did come round ; and I told her," said Caroline, "I knew we should be good friends again ; but could not help adding, in a little more serious voice, that I owned, of all my servants, I had least expected, as I had least deserved it, such treatment from her ; when she knew I had held her up at a time when it was in my power, if I had

pleased, any hour of the day, to let her drop through my fingers, thus —”

With what a lumbering process this royal dressing must have been got through. Imperious masters and mistresses, however, sometimes meet with servants who, while doing their office, could render the object of it supremely ridiculous. Witness Turenne passing Louis the Fourteenth's shirt, which that royal gentleman changed but every other day, — passing it so rapidly over the head of that Lord's anointed, that the warrior-valet set the long tassels appended to his gloves in violent swing, and therewith most irreverently filliped the august nose of “*L'Etat c'est moi!*” But Turenne paid with exile for his joke.

Caroline's own account of the fracas between Mrs. Howard and her husband, is too characteristic to be passed over. The curious in such matters will find it in full detail in “Lord Hervey's Memoirs.” In this place it will suffice to say, that, according to Lord Hervey, Mr. Howard had a personal interview with the queen. Caroline described the circumstances of it with great graphic power. At this interview he had said, that he would take his wife out of her Majesty's coach if he met her in it. Caroline told him to “Do it, if he dare; though,” she added, “I was horribly afraid of him (for we were *tête-à-tête*) all the time I was thus playing the bully. What added to my fear on this occasion,” said the queen, “was, that as I knew him to be so brutal, as well as a little mad, and seldom quite sober, so that I did not think it impossible but that he might throw me out of window (for it was in this very room our interview

was, and that sash then open, as it is now); but as soon as I got near the door, and thought myself safe from being thrown out of the window, I resumed my grand tone of queen, and said I would be glad to see who would dare to open my coach door, and take out one of my servants; knowing all the time that he might do so if he would, and that he could have his wife, and I the affront. Then I told him that my resolution was, positively, neither to force his wife to go to him, if she had no mind to it, nor to keep her if she had. He then said he would complain to the king; upon which I again assumed my high tone, and said, the king had nothing to do with my servants; and, for that reason, he might save himself the trouble, as I was sure the king would give him no answer but that it was none of his business to concern himself with my family; and after a good deal more conversation of this sort (I standing close to the door all the while to give me courage), Mr. Howard and I bade one another good morning, and he withdrew."

Caroline proceeded to call Lord Trevor "an old fool," for coming to her with thanks from Mrs. Howard, and suggestions that the queen should give £1,200 a year to the husband for the consent of the latter to his wife's being retained in the queen's household. Caroline replied to this suggestion with as high a tone as she could have used when addressing herself to Mr. Howard; but with a coarseness of spirit and sentiment which hardly became a queen, although they do not appear to have been considered unbecoming in a queen at that time. "I thought," said Caroline, "I had done full enough, and that it

was a little too much, not only to keep the king's '*guenipes*' (trollops) under my roof, but to pay them, too. I pleaded poverty to my good Lord Trevor, and said I would do anything to keep so good a servant as Mrs. Howard about me; but that for the £1,200 a year, I really could not afford it." The king used to make presents to the queen of fine Hanoverian horses, not that she might be gratified, but that he might, when he wanted them, have horses maintained out of her purse. So he gave her a bedchamber-woman in Mrs. Howard; but Caroline would not have her on the same terms as the horses, and the £1,200 a year were probably paid — not by the king, after all, but by the people.

Lord Chesterfield describes the figure of Mrs. Howard as being above the middle size, and well-shaped, with a face more pleasing than beautiful.¹ She was remarkable for the extreme fairness and fineness of her hair. "Her arms were square and lean, that is, ugly. Her countenance was an undecided one, and announced neither good nor ill nature, neither sense nor the want of it, neither vivacity nor dulness." It is difficult to understand how such a face could be "pleasing;" and the following is the characteristic of a commonplace person. "She had good natural sense, not without art, but in her conversation dwelt tediously upon details and *minuties*. Of the man whom she had, when very young, hastily married for love, and heartily hated at leisure, Chesterfield says, 'he was sour, dull, and sullen.'" The same writer sets it down as equally unaccountable that the lady should have loved such a man, or

¹ Chesterfield's *Life and Letters*; edited by Lord Mahon.

that the man should ever have loved anybody. The noble lord is also of opinion that only a Platonic friendship reigned between the king and the favourite; and that it was as innocent as that which was said to have existed between himself and Miss Belenden.

Very early during the intercourse, "the busy and speculative politicians of the antechambers, who knew everything, but knew everything wrong," imagined that the lady's influence must be all-powerful, seeing that her admirer paid to her the homage of devoting to her the best hours of his day. She did not reject solicitations, we are told, because she was unwilling to have it supposed that she was without power. She neither rejected solicitations, nor bound herself by promises, but hinted at difficulties; and, in short, as Chesterfield well expresses it, she used "all that trite cant of those who with power will not, and of those who without power cannot, grant the requested favours." So far from being able to make peers, she was not even successful in a well-meant attempt to procure a place of £200 a year "for John Gay, a very poor and honest man, and no bad poet, only because he was a poet, which the king considered as a mechanic." Mrs. Howard had little influence, either in the house of the prince, or, when she became Countess of Suffolk, in that of the king. Caroline, we are told, "had taken good care that Lady Suffolk's apartment should not lead to power and favour; and from time to time made her feel her inferiority by hindering the king from going to her room for three or four days, representing it as the seat of a political faction."



George William Frederick (later George III)
Photocopy from the painting by Gainsborough

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George William Frederick (afterwards George III.)

Photogravure from the painting by Gainsborough



CHAPTER III.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ANNE

Violent Opposition to the King by Prince Frederick — Readings at Windsor Castle — The Queen's Patronage of Stephen Duck — His Melancholy End — Glance at Passing Events — Precipitate Flight of Doctor Nichols — Princess Anne's Determination to Get a Husband — Louis XV. Proposed as a Suitor ; Negotiation Broken Off — The Prince of Orange's Offer Accepted — Ugly and Deformed — The King and Queen Averse to the Union — Dowry Settled on the Princess — Anecdote of the Duchess of Marlborough — Illness of the Bridegroom — Ceremonies Attendant on the Marriage — Mortification of the Queen — The Public Nuptial Chamber — Offence Given to the Irish Peers — The Queen and Lady Suffolk — Homage Paid by the Princess to Her Deformed Husband — Discontent of Prince Frederick — His Anxiety Not Unnatural — Congratulatory Addresses by the Lords and Commons — Spirited Conduct of the Queen — Lord Chesterfield — Agitations on Walpole's Celebrated Excise Scheme — Lord Stair Delegated to Remonstrate with the Queen — Awkward Performance of His Mission — Sharply Rebuked by the Queen — Details of the Interview — The Queen's Success in Overcoming the King's Antipathy to Walpole — Comments of the Populace — Royal Interview with a Bishop.

THE social happiness of Caroline began now to be affected by the conduct of her son Frederick, Prince of Wales. Since his arrival in England, in 1728, he had been but coolly entertained by his parents, who refused to pay the debts he had accumulated in Hanover, previous to his leaving the electorate. He was soon in the arms of the opposition ; and the court had

no more violent an enemy, political or personal, than this prince.

His conduct, however, — and some portion of it was far from being unprovoked, — did not prevent the court from entering into some social enjoyments of a harmless and not overamusing nature. Among these may be reckoned the “readings” at Windsor Castle. These readings consisted of the poetry, or verses rather, of that Stephen Duck the thresher, whose rhymes Swift has ridiculed in lines as weak as any which ever fell from the pen of Duck. The latter was a Wiltshire labourer, who supported, or tried to support a family upon the modest wages of four and sixpence a week. In his leisure hours, whenever those could have occurred, he cultivated poetry; and two of his pieces, “The Shunammite,” and “The Thresher’s Labour,” were publicly read in the drawing-room at Windsor Castle, in 1730, by Lord Macclesfield. Caroline procured for the poet the office of yeoman of the guard, and afterward made him keeper of her grotto, Merlin’s Cave, at Richmond. This last act, and the patronage and pounds which Caroline wasted upon the wayward and worthless Savage, show that Swift’s epigram upon the busts in the hermitage at Richmond was not based upon truth :

“Louis the living learned fed,
And raised the scientific head.
Our frugal queen, to save her meat,
Exalts the heads that cannot eat.”

Swift’s anger against the queen, who once promised him some medals, but who never kept her word, and

from whom he had hoped, perhaps, for a patronage which he failed to acquire, was further illustrated about this time in a fiercely satirical poem, in which he says :

“ May Caroline continue long —
For ever fair and young — in song.
What though the royal carcass must,
Squeez’d in a coffin, turn to dust?
Those elements her name compose,
Like atoms, are exempt from blows.”

And, in allusion to the princesses and their prospects, he adds, that Caroline “hath graces of her own :”

“ Three Graces by Lucina brought her,
Just three, and ev’ry Grace a daughter.
Here many a king his heart and crown
Shall at their snowy feet lay down ;
In royal robes they come by dozens
To court their English-German cousins :
Besides a pair of princely babies
That, five years hence, will both be Hebes.”

The royal patronage of Duck ultimately raised him to the Church, and made of him Vicar of Kew. But it failed to bring to the thresher substantial happiness. He had little enjoyment in the station to which he was elevated ; and weary of the restraints it imposed on him, he ultimately escaped from them by drowning himself.

Of the Graces who were the daughters of Caroline, the marriage of one began now to be canvassed. Meanwhile, there was much food for mere talk in common passing events at home. The courtiers had

to express sympathy at their Majesties' being upset in their carriage, when travelling only from Kew to London. Then the son of a Stuart had just died in London. He was that Duke of Cleveland who was the eldest son of Charles II. and Barbara Villiers. In the year 1731 died two far more remarkable people. On the 8th of April, "Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, daughter of Richard Cromwell, the Protector, and granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell, died at her house in Bedford Row, in the eighty-second year of her age." In the same month passed away a man whose writings as much amused Caroline as they have done commoner people, — Defoe. He had a not much superior intellectual training to that of Stephen Duck, but he was "one of the best English writers that ever had so mean an education." The deaths in the same year of the eccentric and profligate Duke of Wharton, and of the relict of that Duke of Monmouth who lost his head for rebellion against James II., gave further subject of conversation in the court circle; where, if it was understood that death was inevitable and necessary, no one could understand what had induced Doctor Nichols, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to steal books from the libraries in that university town. The court was highly merry at the precipitate flight of the doctor, after he was found out; but there was double the mirth the next year at the awkwardness of the Emperor of Germany, who, happening to fire at a stag, chanced to shoot Prince Schwartzberg, his master of the horse. But we turn from these matters to those of wooing and marriage.

In the year 1733, the proud and eldest daughter

of Caroline, she who had expressed her vexation at having brothers, who stood between her and the succession to the crown—a crown, to wear which for a day, she averred she would willingly die when the day was over—in the year above named, the Princess Anne had reached the mature age of twenty-four, and her hand yet remained disengaged. Neither crown nor suitor had yet been placed at her disposal. A suitor with a crown was once, however, very nearly on the point of fulfilling the great object of her ambition, and that when she was not more than sixteen years of age. The lover proposed was no less a potentate than Louis XV., and he would have offered her a seat on a throne which, proud as she was, she might have accepted without much condescension. She would have accepted the pleasant destiny which appeared framed for her, with more alacrity than the last English princess who had been wooed by Gallic king—with more readiness than Mary of England displayed when she reluctantly left the court of her brother, Henry VIII., and the Duke of Brandon there, to espouse all that survived of the once gay and gallant Louis XII.

It is said that the proposal to unite Louis XV. and the Princess Anne originated with the French minister, the Duke de Bourbon, and that the project was entertained with much favour and complacency, until it suddenly occurred to some one that if the princess became queen in France, she would be expected to conform to the religion of France. This, it was urged, could not be thought of by a family which was a reigning family only by virtue of its preëminent Protestantism. It does not seem to have occurred

to any one that when Maria Henrietta espoused Charles I., she had not been even asked to become a professed member of the Church of England, and that we might have asked for the same toleration in France for the daughter of Caroline, as had been given in England to the daughter of the "Grand Henri." However this may be, the affair was not pursued to its end, and Caroline could not say to her daughter, what we have recorded that Stanislas said to his on the morning he received an offer for her from the young King Louis: "*Bon jour! ma fille: vous êtes Reine de France!*"

Anne was unlucky. She was deprived of her succession to the crown of England by the birth of her brothers, and she was kept back from that of France by a question of religion. She lived moodily on for some half-dozen years, and, nothing more advantageous offering, she looked good-naturedly on one of the ugliest princes in Europe. But then he happened to be a sovereign prince in his way. This was the Prince of Orange, who resembled Alexander the Great only in having a wry neck and a halt in his gait. But he also had other deformities from which the Macedonian was free.

George and Caroline were equally indisposed to accept the prince for a son-in-law, and the parental disinclination was expressed in words to the effect that neither king nor queen would force the feelings of their daughter, whom they left free to accept or reject the misshapen suitor who aspired to the plump hand and proud person of the Princess Anne.

The lady thought of her increasing years; that lovers were not to be found on every bush, especially

sovereign lovers ; and, remembering that there were princesses of England before her who had contrived to live in much state and a certain degree of happiness as Princesses of Orange, she declared her intention of following the same course, and compelling her ambition to stoop to the same modest fortune.

The queen was well aware that her daughter knew nothing more of the prince than what she could collect from his counterfeit presentments limned by flattering artists ; and Caroline suggested that she should not be too ready to accept a lover whom she had not seen. The princess was resolute in her determination to take him at once, "for better, for worse." Her royal father was somewhat impatient and chafed by such pertinacity, and exclaimed that the prince was the ugliest man in Holland, and he could not more terribly describe him. "I do not care," said she, "how ugly he may be. If he were a Dutch baboon I would marry him." "Nay, then, have your way," said George, in his strong Westphalian accent, which was always rougher and stronger when he was vexed, "have your way : you will find baboon enough, I promise you !"

It would hardly be safe, seldom flattering, at the best of times, for candidates for the office of "son-in-law" to hear their merits, persons, and prospects discussed by the family circle into which they are seeking to make entrance. Could the aspiring Prince of Orange only have heard how amiably he was spoken of *en famille* by his future relations, he would perhaps have been less ambitious of completing the alliance. Happily these family secrets were not revealed until long after he could be conscious of

them, and accordingly his honest proposals were accepted with ostentatious respect and ill-covered ridicule.

Caroline spoke of the bridegroom as "the animal." His intended wife, when she heard of his arrival, was in no hurry to meet him, but went on at her harpsichord, surrounded by a number of opera people. When the poor "groom" fell sick, not one of the royal family condescended to visit him, and though he himself maintained a dignified silence on this insulting conduct, his suite, who could not imitate their master's indifference, made comment thereupon loud and frequent enough. They got nothing by it, save being called Dutch boobies. The princess royal exhibited no outward manifestation either of consciousness or sympathy. She appeared precisely the same under all contingencies; and whether the lover were in or out of England, in life or out of it, seemed to this strong-minded lady to be one and the same thing.

The marriage of the princess royal could not be concluded without an application to Parliament. To both houses a civil intimation was made of the proposed union of the Princess Anne and the Prince of Orange. In this intimation the king graciously mentioned that he promised himself the concurrence and assistance of the Commons to enable him to give such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion. The Commons' committee promised to do all that the king and queen could expect from them, and they therefore came to the resolution to sell lands in the island of St. Christopher to the amount of £80,000, and to make over that sum to the king, as the dowry of his eldest daughter.

The resolution made part of a bill of which it was only one of the items, and the members in the House affected to be scandalised that the dowry of a princess of England should be "lumped in" among a mass of miscellaneous items, — charities to individuals, grants to old churches, and sums awarded for even less dignified purposes. But the bill passed as it stood, and Caroline, who only a few days before had sent a thousand pounds to the provost of Queen's College, Oxford, for the rebuilding and adorning of that college, was especially glad to find a dowry for her daughter, in whatever company it might come, provided only it was not out of her own purse.

The news of the securing of the dowry hastened the coming of the bridegroom. On the 7th of November, 1732, he arrived at Greenwich, and thence proceeded to Somerset House. The nuptials were to have been speedily solemnised, but the lover fell grievously sick. No philtre could restore him sufficiently to appear at the altar on the day originally appointed, and the marriage was deferred amid a world of sighs. There was no one whom the postponement of the marriage more annoyed than it did the Duchess of Marlborough. She was then residing in Marlborough House, which had been built some five and twenty years previously by Wren. That architect was employed, not because he was preferred, but that Vanbrugh might be vexed. The ground, in which had formerly been kept the birds and fowls ultimately destined to pass through the kitchen to the royal table, had been leased to the duchess by Queen Anne, and the expenses of building amounted to nearly £50,000. The duchess both experienced

and caused considerable mortifications here. She used to speak of the king in the adjacent palace as her "neighbour George." The entrance to the house, from Pall Mall, was, as it still is, a crooked and inconvenient one. To remedy this defect, she intended to purchase some houses "in the Priory," as the locality was called, for the purpose of pulling them down and constructing a more commodious entry to the mansion; but Sir Robert Walpole, with no more dignified motive than mere spite, secured the houses and ground, and erected buildings on the latter, which, as now, completely blocked in the front of the duchess's mansion. She was subjected to a more temporary, but as inconvenient, blockade, when the preparations for the wedding of the imperious Anne and her ugly husband were going on. Among other preparations a boarded gallery, through which the nuptial procession was to pass, was built up close against the duchess's windows, completely darkening her rooms. As the boards remained there during the postponement of the ceremony, the duchess used to look at them with the remark, "I wish the princess would oblige me by taking away her orange chest!"

But the sick bridegroom took long to mend; and it was not till the following January that he was even sufficiently convalescent to journey by easy stages to Bath, and there drink in health at the fashionable pump. A month's attendance there restored him to something like health; and in February his Serene Highness was gravely disporting himself at Oxford, exchanging compliments and eating dinners with the sages and scholars at that seat of learning. Another

month was allowed to pass, and then, on the 24th March, 1783, the royal marriage was solemnised "in the French Chapel," St. James's, by the Bishop of London.

The ceremony was as theatrical and coarse as such things used to be in those days. The prince must have looked very much as M. Potier used to look in *Riquet à la Houppe*, before his transformation from deformity to perfection. He was attired in a "cloth of gold suit;" and George and Caroline may be pardoned if they smiled at the "baboon" whom they were about to accept for their son-in-law. The bride was "in virgin robes of silver tissue, having a train six yards long, which was supported by ten dukes' and earls' daughters, all of whom were attired in robes of silver tissue." The ceremony took place in the evening, and at midnight the royal family supped in public. It was a joyous festival, and not before two in the morning did the jaded married couple retire to the bower prepared for them, where they had to endure the further nuisance of sitting up in bed, in rich undresses, while the court and nobility, "fresh" from an exhilarating supper and strong wines, defiled before them, making pleasant remarks the while, as "fine gentlemen" used to make, who had been born in our Augustan age.

The married couple were assuredly a strangely assorted pair. The bride, indeed, was not without commonplace charms. In common with the dairymaid, the princess had a lively clear look and a very fair complexion. Like many a dairymaid, too, of the time, she was very much marked with the smallpox. She was also ill-made, and inclined to become as obese

as her royal mother. But then the bridegroom ! All writers dealing with the subject agree that his ugliness was something extraordinary. No one doubts that he was deformed ; but Hervey adds some traits that are revolting. His Serene Highness did not, like the gods, distil a celestial ichor.' He appears, however, not to have been void of sense or good feeling ; for when, at the period of his arrival, he was received with very scanty honours and cold ceremony, was made to feel that he was nothing in himself, and could only become anything here by marrying an English princess ; when George, if not Caroline, "snubbed" the courtiers who crowded his apartments at Somerset House ; and when, in short, the prince of £12,000 a year was made to feel that but little value was set upon him, — he bore it all in silence, or as if he did not perceive it. Let us hope that gallantry for the lady induced the princely Quasimodo thus to act. It was almost more than she deserved ; for while the people were ready to believe that the alliance was entered into the better to strengthen the Protestant succession, Anne herself was immediately moved thereto by fear, if she were left single, of ultimately depending for a provision upon her brother Frederick.

Nature will assert its claims in spite of pride or expediency ; and accordingly it was observed that, after the bridegroom had arrived, and the marriage procession began to move through the temporarily constructed gallery, blazing with light, and glittering with bright gems and brighter eyes, the bride herself seemed slightly touched, and Caroline especially grave and anxious in her deportment. She appeared, for the first time, to feel that her daughter was about to

make a great sacrifice, and her consequent anxiety was probably increased by the conviction that it was too late to save her daughter from impending fate. The king himself, who had never been in the eager condition of the *seigneur* in the song, who so peremptorily exclaims :

“ De ma fille Isabelle
Sois lé’poux à l’instant, — ”

manifested more impassibility than ever. Finally, the knot was tied under a salvo of artillery and a world of sighs.

The sublime and the ridiculous stood in close familiarity in the public nuptial chamber in the evening. According to custom, as before stated, all the court met in this apartment to congratulate the newly married pair, who were attired in fancy night-dresses of little taste and great splendour.

Caroline felt compassion for her daughter, but she restrained her feelings until her eye fell upon the bridegroom. In his silver tissue nightdress, his light peruke, his ugliness and his deformity, he struck her as the impersonation of a monster. His ill figure was so ill dressed, that, looked at from behind, he appeared to have no head, and seen from before, he appeared as if he had neither neck nor legs.¹ The queen was wonderfully moved at the sight ; moved with pity for her daughter, and with indignation at her husband. The portion of the ceremony which used to be the merriest was by far the most mournful, at least so far as the queen’s participation therein was concerned. She fairly cried with mingled vexa-

¹ Lord Hervey.

tion, disappointment, and disgust. She could not even revert to the subject, for days after, without crying, and yet laughing too, as the oddity of the bridegroom's ugliness came across her mind. And indeed that happy man, although he could not have said of his bride, except by comparison, —

“Grands dieux, combien elle est jolie!”

he might with good reason have sung of himself:

“Et moi, je suis, je suis si laid.”

It may be asserted, without much fear of contradiction, that a wedding of any pretension at all is seldom got through without offence to somebody. The wedding of the Princess Anne was one of more than mere pretensions, and the ceremonial arrangements gave rise to many ill feelings. The Irish peers, above all others, felt themselves insulted, and were warmly resentful, as was only natural under the circumstances.

Lord Hervey was the master of the ceremonies on this serio-comic occasion. According to his table of precedence, the Irish peers were to walk in the procession after the entire body of the peerage of Great Britain. This was putting the highest Irish peer beneath the lowest baron in Britain. The Hibernian lords claimed to walk immediately after the English and Scotch peers of their own degree. It was the most modest claim ever made by that august body; but modest as it was, the arrogant peers of Great Britain threatened, if the claim were allowed, to absent themselves from the ceremony altogether!

The case was represented to Caroline, and she took the side of right and common sense ; but when she was told that to allow the Irish claim would be to banish every British peer from the solemn ceremony, she was weak enough to give way. Lord Hervey, in his programme for the occasion, omitted to make any mention of the peers of Ireland at all — thus leaving them to walk where they could. On being remonstrated with, he said that if the Irish lords were not satisfied, he would keep all the finery standing, and they might walk through it in any order of precedence they liked, on the day after the wedding. One lord grievously complained of the omission of the illustrious Hibernian body from the programme. Lord Hervey excused himself by remarking, that as the Irish House of Peers was then sitting in Dublin, he never thought, being an Englishman, of the august members of that assembly being in two places at once.

The claim was probably disallowed because Ireland was not then in union with England, as Scotland was. On no other ground could the claim have been refused ; and Caroline saw that even that ground was not a very good one whereon to rest a denial. As it was, the Irish peers felt like poor relations, neither invited to nor prohibited from the joyous doings, but with a thorough conviction that, to use a popular phrase, their room was deemed preferable to their company.

During the week following the marriage, Frederick, Prince of Wales, was employed, after a fashion which suited his tastes extremely well, in escorting his brother-in-law to witness the sights of London. It

then appears to have suddenly struck the government that it would be as well to make an Englishman of the bridegroom, and that that consummation could not be too quickly arrived at. Accordingly, a bill for naturalising the prince was brought in and read three times on the same day. It, of course, passed unanimously, and the prince received the intelligence of his having been converted into a Briton with a phlegm which showed that he had not altogether ceased to be a Dutchman.

He was much more pleurably excited in the April of the following year, when he heard that the king had sent a written message to the Commons, intimating that he had settled five thousand a year on the princess royal, and desiring that they would enable him to make the grant for the life of the princess, as it would otherwise determine on his Majesty's death. The Commons complied with this message, and the Prince of Orange was infinitely more delighted with this act than with that which bestowed on him the legal rights of an Englishman.

This pleasant little arrangement having been concluded, the prince and princess set out for Holland, from St. James's, on the 10th of April, 1734; and in July of the same year the princess was again in England, not at all to the satisfaction of her sire, and but very scantily to the delight of her mother. The young lady, however, was determined to remain; and it was not till November that she once more returned to her home behind the dykes. The queen was not sorry to part with her, for just then she was deep in the fracas connected with the dismissal of her husband's "favourite," Lady Suffolk, from her

office of mistress of the robes to her Majesty, an office in which she was succeeded by the more worthy Countess of Tankerville. The king had the less time to be troubled with thought about "that old deaf woman," as he very ungallantly used to call his ancient "favourite," as he too was deeply engaged in protesting against the Elector Palatine, who had been very vigorously protesting against the right of the king, as Elector of Hanover, to bear the title of arch-treasurer of the empire.

But if Caroline began to forget her daughter, Anne was borne in remembrance by her sister, Amelia.

The commiseration which the queen had felt for her daughter was shared by the sister of the latter, the Princess Amelia, who declared that nothing on earth could have induced her to wed with such a man as the Prince of Orange. Her declaration was accepted for as much as it was worth. The gentle Princess Caroline, on the other hand, thought that her sister, under the circumstances, had acted wisely, and that, had she been so placed, she would have acted in like manner. Nor did the conduct of the bride give the world any reason to think that she stood in need of pity. She appeared to adore the "monster," who, it must be confessed, exhibited no particular regard for his spouse. The homage she paid him was perfect. "She made prodigious court to him," says Lord Hervey, "addressed everything she said to him, and applauded everything he said to anybody else."

Perhaps the pride of the princess would not permit a doubt to be thrown upon her supreme happiness. Her brother Frederick strove to mar it by

raising a quarrel, on a slight, but immensely absurd, foundation. He reproached her for the double fault of presuming to be married before him, and of accepting a settlement from her father, when he had none. He was ingenious in finding fault, but there may have been a touch of satire in this, for Anne was known to have been as groundlessly angry with her brother for a circumstance which he could not very well help, namely, his own birth, whereby the princess royal ceased to be next heir to the crown.

The prince, however, was not much addicted to showing respect to anybody, least of all to his mother. It was because of this miserable want of respect for the queen that the king, in an interview forced on him by his son, refused to settle a fixed annuity upon him,—at least till he had manifested a more praiseworthy conduct toward the queen.

The anxiety of Frederick on this occasion was not unnatural, for he was deeply in debt, and of the £100,000 granted to the prince by Parliament out of the civil list, the king allowed him only £36,000. The remainder was appropriated by the king, who doubtless made his son's conduct the rule of his liberality, measuring his supplies to the prince, according as the latter was well or ill behaved. It was a degrading position enough, and the degradation was heightened by the silent contempt with which the king passed over his son's application to be permitted to join in active service. Throughout these first family quarrels, the queen preserved a great impartiality, with some leaning, perhaps, toward serving her son. Nothing, however, came

of it ; and, for the moment, Frederick was fain to be content with doing the honours of the metropolis to his ungraceful brother-in-law.

The congratulatory addresses which were presented on the occasion of the marriage, had a mordantly satirical tone about them. It is wonderful how George and Caroline, whose unpopularity was increasing at this time, continued to preserve their equanimity at hearing praises rung on the name and services of "Orange," — the name of a prince who had become King of England, by rendering the questionable service to his father-in-law of turning him off the throne.

The address of the lords to the queen, especially congratulating the mother on the marriage of her daughter, was rendered painful instead of pleasant, by its being presented, that is, spoken, to her by Lord Chesterfield. Caroline had never seen this peer since the time he was dismissed from her husband's household, when she was Princess of Wales. He had not been presented at court since the accession of the present sovereign, and the queen was therefore resolved to treat as an utter stranger the man who had been impertinent enough to declare he designed that the step he took should be considered as a compliment to the queen. The latter abhorred him, nevertheless, for his present attempt to turn the compliment, addressed to her by the lords, into a joke. Before he appeared, Caroline intimated her determination not to let the peer's cool impertinence awe or disconcert her. He really did find what she declared he should, that "it was as little in his power for his presence to embarrass her, as for his raillery

behind her back to pique her, or his consummate skill in politics to distress the king or his ministers." ¹

The queen acted up to this resolution. She received Lords Chesterfield, Scarborough, and Hardwicke, the bearers of the address, in her bedchamber, no one else being present but her children and Lord Hervey, who stood behind her chair. The last-named nobleman, in describing the scene, says: "Lord Chesterfield's speech was well written and well got by heart, and yet delivered with a faltering voice, a face as white as a sheet, and every limb trembling with concern. The queen's answer was quiet and natural, and delivered with the same ease that she would have spoken to the most indifferent person in her circle."

Caroline, however, had more serious matters to attend to during this year than affairs of marriage. Of these we will now briefly speak.

Sir Robert Walpole's celebrated excise scheme was prolific in raising political agitations, and exciting both political and personal passions. The peers were, strangely enough, even more resolute against the measure than the Commons; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that a portion of them took advantage of the popular feeling to further thereby their own particular interests and especial objects.

It is again illustrative of the power and influence of Caroline, and of the esteem in which she was held, that a body of the peers delegated Lord Stair to proceed to the queen, at Kensington, and remonstrate with her upon the unconstitutional and des-

¹ Lord Hervey.

tructive measure, as they designated the excise project.

Lord Stair was a bold man, and was accustomed to meet and contend with sovereigns. He had not only on many an occasion foiled the King and the Regent of France, but he had defeated the Polish monarch in a way he loved to boast of. That potentate, when Lord Stair was residing at Warsaw, once very much astonished the Scotch nobleman, by exhibiting a feat which he accomplished with singular strength and dexterity. It was this: grasping a sword, and giving it a peculiar swing, or twist in the air, ending with a sudden jerk, he would cause the blade to break off close at the handle. He boasted that he could produce the same effect with any sword. Lord Stair defied him to the trial, and brought him a stout Scottish broadsword, which successfully resisted all the attempts, strength, and skill of the iron-wristed monarch, to fracture it. He acknowledged his defeat, and struck a medal to commemorate that rare occurrence. On one side was the emblazoned shield of Poland, on the other a naked arm brandishing a sword, with the motto beneath, *Vis tandem inæqualis*. Lord Stair, so accustomed to foil sovereigns, had no doubt of being able to turn Caroline to his purpose. But the queen twisted him as Augustus had the weapons of Continental manufacture. She shivered the Scottish blade to boot; and the noble lord himself might have retired from the interview muttering, *Vis tandem inæqualis*, — My strength has at length been unequal to what it was tried upon.

• And no wonder; for never did delegate perform

his mission so awkwardly. He thought to awaken the queen's indignation against Walpole, by imparting to her the valuable admonitory knowledge that she was ruled by that subtle statesman. He fancied he improved his position by informing her that Walpole was universally hated, that he was no gentleman, and that he was as ill-looking as he was ill-inclined. He even forgot his mission, save when he spoke of fidelity to his constituents, by going into purely personal matters, railing at the minister whose very shoe-buckles he had kissed, in order to be appointed vice-admiral of Scotland, when the Duke of Queensberry was ejected from that post, — and accusing Walpole of being manifestly untrue to the trust which he held, seeing that whenever there was an office to dispose of, he invariably preferred giving it to the Campbells rather than to him, — Stair. To the Campbells! he reiterated, as if the very name were enough to rouse Caroline against Walpole. To the Campbells! who tried to rule England by means of the king's mistress; opposed to governing it by means of the king's wife.

Caroline heard him with decent and civil patience until he had gone through his list of private grievances, and began to meddle with matters personal to herself and the royal hearth, — if I may use such a term. She then burst forth, and was superb in her rebuke, — superb in its matter and manner, — superb in her dignity and in the severity with which she crushed Lord Stair beneath her fiery sarcasms and her withering contempt. She ridiculed his assertions of fidelity, and told him he had become traitor to his own country, and the betrayer of his own

constituents. She mocked his complacent assurances that his object was not personal, but patriotic. She professed her intense abhorrence of having the private dissensions of noblemen ripped open in her presence, and bade him learn better manners than to speak, as he had done, of "the king's servants to the king's wife."

"My conscience," said Lord Stair.

"Don't talk to me of your conscience, my lord," said Caroline, "or I shall faint." The conversation was in French, and the queen's precise words were, "*Ne me parlez point de conscience, milord ; vous me faites évanouir.*"

The Scottish lord was sadly beaten down, and confessed his disgraceful defeat, by requesting her Majesty to be good enough to keep what had passed at the interview, as a secret. He added, in French, "*Madame, le roi est trompé, et vous êtes trahie,*" — The king is deceived, and you are betrayed. He had previously alluded to Lords Bolingbroke and Carteret, as men worthy indeed to be trusted, and who had the honour and glory of the kingdom at heart. These names, with such testimonial attached to them, especially excited the royal indignation. "Bolingbroke and Carteret!" exclaimed Caroline. "You may tell them from me, if you will, that they are men of no parts ; that they are said to be two of the greatest liars in any country ; and that my observation and experience confirm what is said of them."¹

It will be seen from this, that the period was one when even very great people indulged in very strong

¹ Lord Hervey.

terms, and that Caroline was not behind her husband in the power of flinging violent epithets, when she was in the humour, and opportunity offered.

Stair reiterated his request that the incidents of the private interview should not be further spoken of. Caroline consented, and she must have felt some contempt for him as he also promised that he would keep them secret, giving knowledge thereof to no man.

"Well?" said Carteret inquiringly, as he met with Lord Stair, after this notable interview with Caroline.

"Well!" exclaimed Lord Stair, "I have staggered her!" A pigmy might as well have boasted of having staggered Thalestris and Hippolyte.

A short time subsequently, Lord Hervey was with the queen in her apartment, purveying to her, as he was wont to do, the floating news of the day. Among other things, he told her of an incident in a debate in Parliament upon the army supplies. In the course of the discussion, Carteret had observed that, at the period when Cardinal Mazarin was ruining France by his oppressive measures, a great man sought an audience of the queen (Anne of Austria, mother of the young King Louis XIV.), and after explaining to her the perils of the times, ended with the remark that she was maintaining a man at the helm, who deserved to be rowing in the galleys.

Caroline immediately knew that Lord Stair had revealed what he had petitioned her to keep secret; and feeling that she was thereby exonerated from observing further silence, her Majesty took the opportunity to "out with it all," as she said in not less

choice French : " J'ai pris la première occasion d'égo-siller tout."

Reverting to Carteret's illustration, she observed that the "great man" noticed by him was Condé, a man who never had a word to say against Mazarin, as long as the cardinal fed a rapacity which could never be satisfied. This was, in some degree, Stair's position with regard to Walpole. "Condé, in his interview with the Queen of France," observed the well read Queen of England, "had for his object to impose upon her and France, by endeavouring to persuade her that his private resentments were only a consequence of his zeal for the public service."

Lord Hervey, very gallantly and courtier-like, expressed his wish that her Majesty could have been in the House to let the senate know her wisdom; or that she could have been concealed there, to have had the opportunity of saying with Agrippine :

" Derrière une voîle, invisible, et présente,
Je fus de ce grand corps l'âme toute puissante."

The quotation, perhaps, could not have been altogether applicable, but as Lord Hervey quoted it, and "my lord" was a man of wit, it is doubtless as well placed as wit could make it. The queen, at all events, took it as a compliment, laughed, and declared, that often when she was with these impatient fellows, ever ready with their unreasonable remonstrances, she was tempted herself to say, with Agrippine, that she was —

" Fille, femme, et mère de vos maîtres," —

a quotation less applicable, even, than the former, but in which Lord Hervey detected such abundance of wit that he went into a sort of ecstasy of delight at the queen's judgment, humour, knowledge, and ability.

When the Excise Bill was for the first time brought before the House, the debate lasted till one in the morning. Lord Hervey, during the evening, wrote an account of its progress to the king and queen; and when he repaired to the palace at the conclusion of the discussion, the king kept him in the queen's bedchamber, talking over the scene, till three o'clock in the morning, and never for a moment remembered that the hungry intelligencer had not dined since the yesterday.

When the clamour against the bill rose to such a pitch that all England, the army included, seemed ready to rise against it, Walpole offered himself as a personal sacrifice, if the service and interests of the king would be promoted by his surrender of office and power. It is again illustrative of the influence of Caroline that this offer was made to her, and not to the king. He was, in truth, the queen's minister; and nobly she stood by him. When Walpole made the offer in question, Caroline declared that she would not be so mean, so cowardly, or so ungrateful as to abandon him; and she infused the same spirit into the king. The latter had intended, from the first, to reign and govern, and be effectively his own minister; but Caroline so wrought upon him, that he thought he had of himself reached the conviction that it was necessary for him to trust in a minister, and that Walpole was the fittest man for such an

office. And so he grew to love the very man whom he had been wont to hold in his heart's extremest hate. He would even occasionally speak of him as a "noble fellow," and, with tears in his eyes, would listen to an account of some courageous stand Walpole had made in the House against the enemies of the government, and he would add the while a running commentary of sobs.

The queen's greatest triumph was this overcoming of her husband's personal hatred for Walpole. It could not have been an achievement easy to be accomplished. But her art in effecting such achievements was supreme, and she alone could turn to her own purpose the caprices of a hot-headed man, of whom it has been said, that he was of iron obstinacy, but that he was unlike iron in this, that the hotter he became, the more impossible it was to bend him. Caroline found him pliant when she found him cool. But then, too, he was most wary, and it was necessary so to act as to cause every turn which she compelled him to make, appear to himself as if it were the result of his own unbiassed volition.

Supremely able as Caroline was, she could not, however, always conceal her emotion. Thus, at this very period of the agitation of the Excise Bill, on being told, at one of her evening drawing-rooms, of the difficulties and dangers which beset the path of the government, she burst into tears, became unusually excited, and finally affecting, and perhaps feeling, headache and vapours, she broke up her quadrille party, and betrayed in her outward manner an apparent conviction of impending calamity. She evinced the same weakness on being told, on a subsequent

evening, that Walpole was in a majority of only seventeen. Such a small majority she felt was a defeat; and, on this occasion, she again burst into tears, and for the first time expressed a fear that the court must give way! The sovereign was, at the same time, as strong within her as the woman; and when she heard of the subordinate holders of government posts voting against the minister, or declining to vote with him, she bitterly denounced them, exclaiming that they who refused to march with their leader were as guilty as they who openly deserted, and that both merited condign punishment.¹

The king on this occasion was as excited as his consort, but he manifested his feelings in a different way. He made Lord Hervey repeat the names of those who thwarted the views of the Crown, and he grunted forth an angry commentary at each name. "Lord John Cavendish," began Hervey. "A fool!" snorted the king. "Lord Charles Cavendish." "Half mad!" "Sir William Lowther." "A whimsical fellow!" "Sir Thomas Prendergast." "An Irish blockhead!" "Lord Tyrconnel." "A puppy," said George, "who never votes twice on the same side!"

On the other hand, the populace made their comment on the proceedings of the court. It was rendered in a highly popular way, and with much significancy. In the city of London, for instance, the mob hung in effigy Sir Robert Walpole and a fat woman. The male figure was duly ticketed. The female effigy was well understood to mean the queen.

Her power, would, after all, not have followed, in its fall, that of Walpole. Lord Hervey remarks that,

¹ Lord Hervey.

had he retired, Caroline would have placed before the king the names of a new ministry, and that the administration would not have hung together a moment after it had outlived her liking.

In the meantime her indefatigability was great. At the suggestion, it is supposed, of Walpole, she sent for the Bishop of Salisbury, Doctor Hoadly, who repaired to the interview with his weak person and stately independence, if one may so speak, upheld by his "crutched stick." His power must have been considered very great, and so must his caprice; for he was frequently sent for by Caroline, remonstrated with for supposed rebellion, or urged to exert all his good offices in support of the Crown. It is difficult to believe that the lengthy speeches reported by Hervey were actually delivered by queen and bishop. There is nothing longer in Livy, and we are not told that any one took them down. Substantially, however, they may be true. The queen was insinuating, complimentary, suggestive, and audacious; the bishop all duty, submission, and promise, — as far as his consistency and principles could be engaged. But, after all, the immense mountain of anxiety and stratagem was reared in vain, for Walpole withdrew his bill, and Caroline felt that England was but nominally a monarchy.

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